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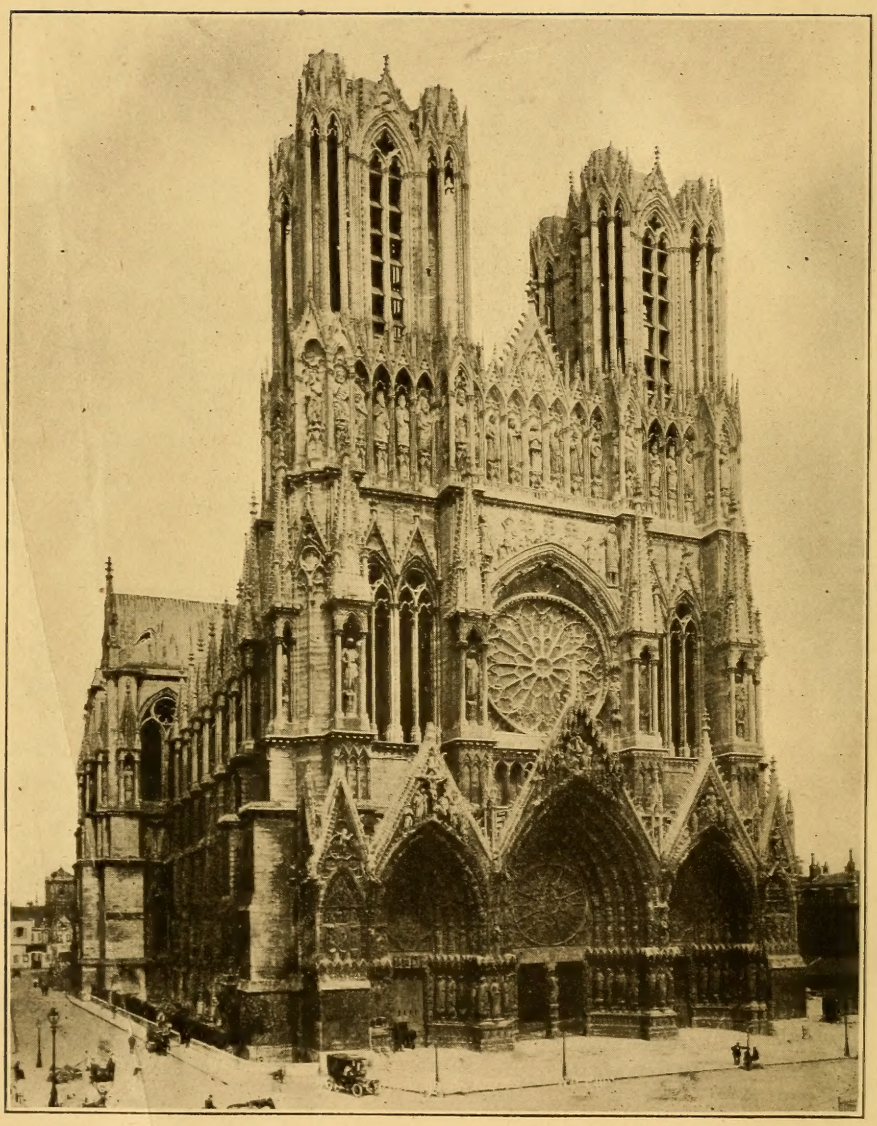

Reims Cathedral.

THE MODERN WORLD

FROM CHARLEMAGNE TO THE PRESENT TIME

WITH A PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF ANCIENT TIMES

BY

REV. FRANCIS S. BETTEN, S.J.

AND

REV. ALFRED KAUFMANN, S.J.

. . . ars historica quae tantum habet nobilitatis.

. . . historical science endowed with so eminent a degree of nobility. — LEO XIII.

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PREFACE

In his letter on Historical Studies Pope Leo XIII says among other things: *Est autem in usum scholarum confectio commentariorum necessaria, qui salva veritate et nullo adolescentium periculo ipsam artem historicam illustrare et augere queant.* "It is necessary that for the use of the schools textbooks be composed which are calculated, with due regard for truth and without exposing the young students to any pitfalls, to expound and propagate the science of history." Encouraged by these words the authors have undertaken to issue the present work.

The book, like F. Betten's *Ancient World*, aims to furnish an abundance of material much of which is not found in other books accessible to students. From this teachers will make their own selection. Several sections, Chapter VII for instance, are readily recognized as reference matter. These sections may be omitted whenever a shorter course is desired.

The authors have freely utilized the information contained in a great variety of works, large and small, and they wish to express their indebtedness to these. Thanks are due also to other scholars from whom it was the authors' privilege to receive aid and advice. In particular, however, they wish to thank Mr. Willis Mason West, who generously consented that entire passages be taken over from his own *Modern World.*

May this work, too, contribute its share towards the promotion of true Christian education.

The Authors.

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DIVISION OF HISTORY

ANCIENT HISTORY extends from the Creation of Man to the time of the Emperor Charlemagne, about A.D. 800.

The last part of Ancient History, from about A.D. 400 to 800, was a period of transition. A new religion, Christianity, which had been previously persecuted, now spread freely over all Europe. The great Roman Empire disappeared. New nations with new languages and customs, founded new states. Whatever good these nations brought with them gradually blended with the inheritance of older times, and Christianity became the sole religion of all Europe. By A.D. 800 this transformation of Europe was complete.

MODERN HISTORY extends from Charlemagne, about A.D. 800, to our own time. This Modern History is the subject of the present book.

For seven hundred years after Charlemagne all Europe was of one religion, the peoples and their rulers being Catholic. All recognized the Catholic Church with the Pope at the head as their guide in all matters, private and international, in which questions of Faith and Morals were concerned. This was the *Era of Christian Unity*, or *Early Modern History*.

In the sixteenth century many nations fell away from the Church. Even those rulers who remained Catholic became less submissive to Catholic principles in the conduct of their public affairs. Various other causes helped to bring about a change in the views of men, in the relation of rulers to their subjects, and of states to one another. Thus began *Later Modern History*.

Historical writers frequently employ the term **Middle Ages, or Medieval Times.** It denotes a period which covers about eleven hundred years; namely, from A.D. 400 to 1500. During this period Catholic Christianity became and remained dominant. The term is, however, more commonly applied to the seven centuries after Charlemagne than to the four preceding him.

Agreeably to a wish expressed by many teachers, a "Summary of Ancient Times" has been prefixed to the present volume. It affords a welcome opportunity to represent Jesus Christ as the real center of all human history.

THE SOURCES OF HISTORY

1. The student learns of the many events and facts which make up the history of mankind from the historical books written and published in our own days. But how do the authors of these books know what happened centuries ago? They consult what we call *the sources of history.* These are of three kinds:

(1) **Oral traditions.** The stories of happenings of the past, if handed down and propagated by word of mouth only, are called oral traditions. Though such stories very frequently have undergone changes in the course of time and have become more or less fabulous, yet historians are often able to discover in them a certain amount of truth.

(2) **Relics.** By relics we understand the weapons, tools, household goods, and many other articles of ornament or utility, which were used by men of former ages; also their works of art, the ruins of their buildings, the very remains of their dead, buried in simple graves or elaborate mausoleums; finally pictorial representations and sculpture.

(3) **Written Records.** Such records as inscriptions and especially manuscript or printed books constitute the most important historical source,[1] coming from persons who are both able and willing to tell the truth.

The noblest of all written records is the *Bible.* Its real author is God Himself, since He "inspired" those who wrote it in His name. Its various parts, called "books," date from about 1500 B.C. to 100 A.D. Its historical information is practically confined to the Hebrews, the chosen people of God. But incidentally it gives precious references and hints concerning the most ancient nations of the world.

[1] Written records are lacking for the history of some nations or for certain periods of their earliest existence. Such nations or periods we call *prehistoric.* This term is, however, by no means synonymous with savage. Relics may show a high degree of civilization in a prehistoric people.

A SUMMARY OF ANCIENT TIMES

CHAPTER I

BEFORE THE COMING OF JESUS CHRIST

A. From the Creation to the Dispersion of Nations

2. Before the Deluge. — " In the beginning God created heaven and earth." In six periods of uncertain duration, which Holy Writ calls " days," He further prepared the dwelling place of man. Finally He " formed man of the slime of the earth and breathed into his face the breath of life, and man became a living soul." Man thus came directly from the hands of his Creator, endowed with perfect faculties of body and soul, and with a wonderful knowledge of the natural things which surrounded him. To make Adam the true fountainhead of mankind, Eve, the first woman, was created from his body. She was to be his " helpmate " in the occupations of his earthly existence, but his perfect equal in the vocation to eternal life. This is the origin of matrimony.

In the very act of creation God had raised man to an essentially higher level by endowing him with Sanctifying Grace, which elevated him to the supernatural order. Unfortunately Adam failed to stand the test of fidelity and lost Sanctifying Grace for himself and all his posterity.

But in His mercy *God promised a Redeemer*, who was to atone for the offenses against His Divine Majesty and regain for mankind the possibility of entering the supernatural bliss for which the human race was created.

3. The Deluge. — Adam's descendants multiplied rapidly. But wickedness also increased among them, so much so that God resolved to destroy all men by a terrible inundation which we call *the Deluge.* Only Noah with his wife, his three sons and their wives, were to be saved in the Ark, a huge ship built by Noah at the command of God. All other persons perished in that appalling catastrophe.

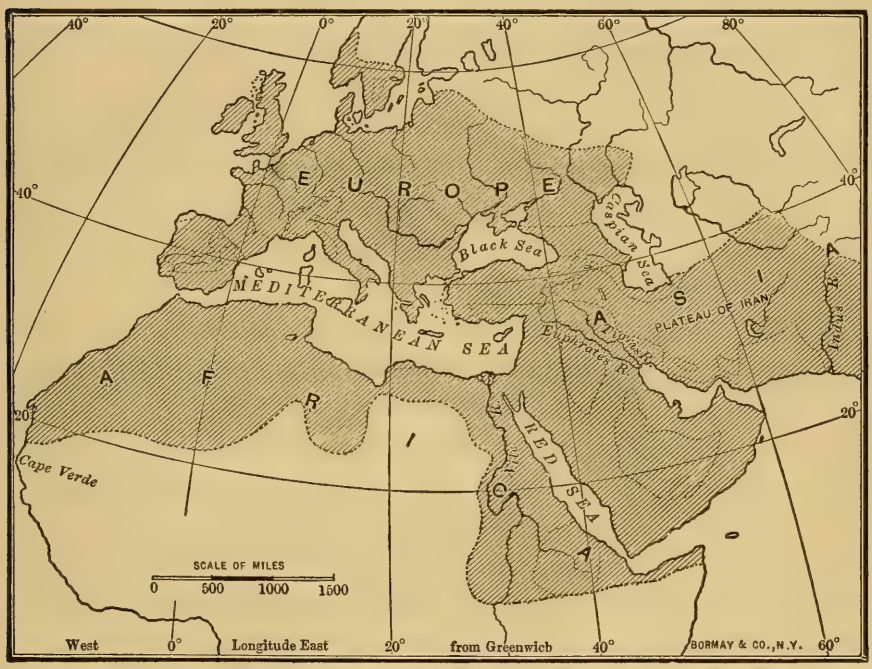
We do not know how many centuries before Christ Adam was created, nor at what exact date the Deluge took place. The Church does not condemn those who think mankind existed much longer than the traditional four thousand years before the birth of the Savior. But conscientious scientists assure us that there is no reason to go beyond eight or ten thousand years before Christ for the creation of man. The Deluge extended at least far enough over the earth to destroy all men save those in the Ark. All men now living are descendants of Noah.

4. Spread of the Human Race. — The three sons of Noah became the ancestors of three families of nations. The descendants of Sem (Shem) are called the *Semites;* to them belong the Assyrians, Arabs, Jews. Cham (Ham) was the father of the *Hamites,* among whom are the Chanaanites (the first inhabitants of Palestine), the Babylonians, Egyptians, and the Negroes of Africa. The *Aryans* or *Indo-Europeans* were the offspring of Japhet. They comprise the Hindoos of India, the Medes and Persians, the Greeks, Italians, Celts, Germans, and Slavs.

But mixture of races and the influence of climate and country produced a vastly greater variety of nationalities. There is in fact scarcely any people which represents unmixed stock. Hence it is that we can hardly trace the origin of such nations as the Chinese and Japanese. But racial diversities among the inhabitants of the globe, however pronounced, furnish no solid reason for doubting the unity of the human race.

5. Civilization after the Flood. — At the time of the Deluge mankind had reached a high degree of civilization. Men were

acquainted with various arts and even skilled as metal workers. Nor was this precious heirloom suddenly lost. The various tribes took it along to their new domiciles. But those that settled in less favorable regions and lost connection with the stream of original civilization might forget or fail to practice much of what they or their fathers had seen in their ancient



FIELD OF ANCIENT HISTORY.

homes. Their civilization thus gradually sank to a lower level and was likely to sink still more with every new generation. The natural sources of history disclose the fact that nations living at the same time but in different countries show a remarkable difference in civilization. Some, rendered helpless by isolation or the poverty of their soil, resorted to hunting and fishing for their livelihood, and to wood or bone or stone for their implements. Intellectual civilization also, that is the taste for arts of all kinds, could by degrees be wholly or partially lost.

But some nations always kept the torch of material and intellectual culture burning and in their turn spread its light abroad. They even added to it, each nation according to its own character, by devising better methods of government for cities and empires, and by building up systems of every kind of science. By vigorous contact with them other races could be reclaimed from barbarism. Thus Divine Providence watched over the greatest natural possession of mankind. God did more for its religious interests.

6. Religion after the Flood. — Again men fell from the purity of religion which they had inherited from their ancestors. They began to adore false gods, thereby violating one of their gravest obligations, namely, to give supreme worship to the true God alone, "Who made heaven and earth." The other duties also, which are known to every man by the natural light of reason, came to be widely disregarded.

But the Almighty forgot not the promise He had given to Adam and Eve. While the world was sinking deeper and deeper into idolatry and wickedness, He took care that at least one nation remained faithful, and persevered in waiting for the appearance of "the light for the revelation of the Gentiles." This nation, the Hebrews or Jews, is not by any means the oldest nation. Abraham, their ancestor, lived about the year 2000 B.C. But over no other people did God exercise such a wonderful protection.

The importance of the Hebrews for the religious and moral culture of the world is paramount. Through them a small place was preserved in the wide world, where never ceased the worship of the true God, and where the Redeemer was to find a starting point for his life work.

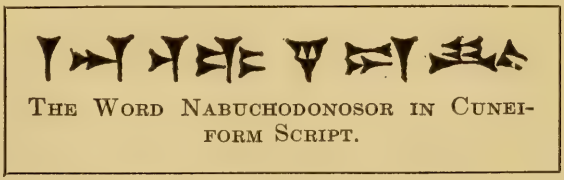
B. The Oldest Nations after the Flood

It is impossible for us to treat of all the nations which arose soon after the Deluge or at later times. A complete universal history would include the Chinese and the many other peoples of the Far East of Asia. In this book we confine ourselves to those nations from which many of the elements of our present-day civilization have been drawn.

7. The Babylonian Nations and the Egyptians we must consider first. The history of both goes back to about 5000 years before Christ.

In the Valley of the Euphrates and Tigris lived the *Chaldeans, the Babylonians, and the Assyrians,* all of whom are frequently mentioned in the Bible. For the greater part of their existence they formed but one kingdom. Their kings ruled with absolute power; that is, the people had no part in the government. But many of those monarchs governed well. King Hammurabi is famous for the excellent laws he gave to the country, which in many ways have not been surpassed by the most modern legislators.

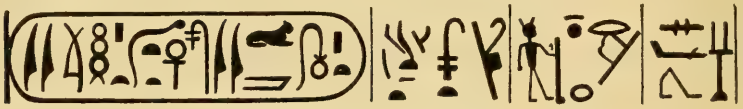
The people used a kind of writing which is called "cuneiform," wedge-shaped, because its characters are made up of strokes which resemble wedges. They wrote on bricks when the clay was soft and baked them afterwards. Many of their writings have been preserved and are now found by thousands in the ruins of their buildings. They had books on agriculture, mathematics, and astronomy — all on brick tablets. The Babylonians knew the week of seven days with one "day of rest for the soul," which was afterwards made a strict duty for the Jews by the third commandment of the Decalog. They invented our sun-dial and water clock, and devised an excellent system of weights and measures based on the length of the hand and foot. The face of our watches to-day, with its divisions by twelve and by sixties, recalls their work, as also do the curious figures on our star maps; the signs of the zodiac in our almanacs; the symbols of our Apothecaries' table, still used by our physicians; many of our carpenters' tools and much of our common kitchen ware — even some of our fairy stories, like that of Cinderella.



THE WORD NABUCHODONOSOR IN CUNEIFORM SCRIPT.

They erected splendid buildings, chiefly of sun-dried bricks, produced beautiful and majestic statues, and left many inscriptions in stone and on rocks.

8. The Egyptians, on the banks of the Nile, were, like the Babylonians, ruled by despotic kings. The characters used in their writings are called "hieroglyphs," sacred letters. The immense number of their literary works, ranging from novels to scientific treatises of all branches, were written on a



HIEROGLYPHIC SCRIPT.

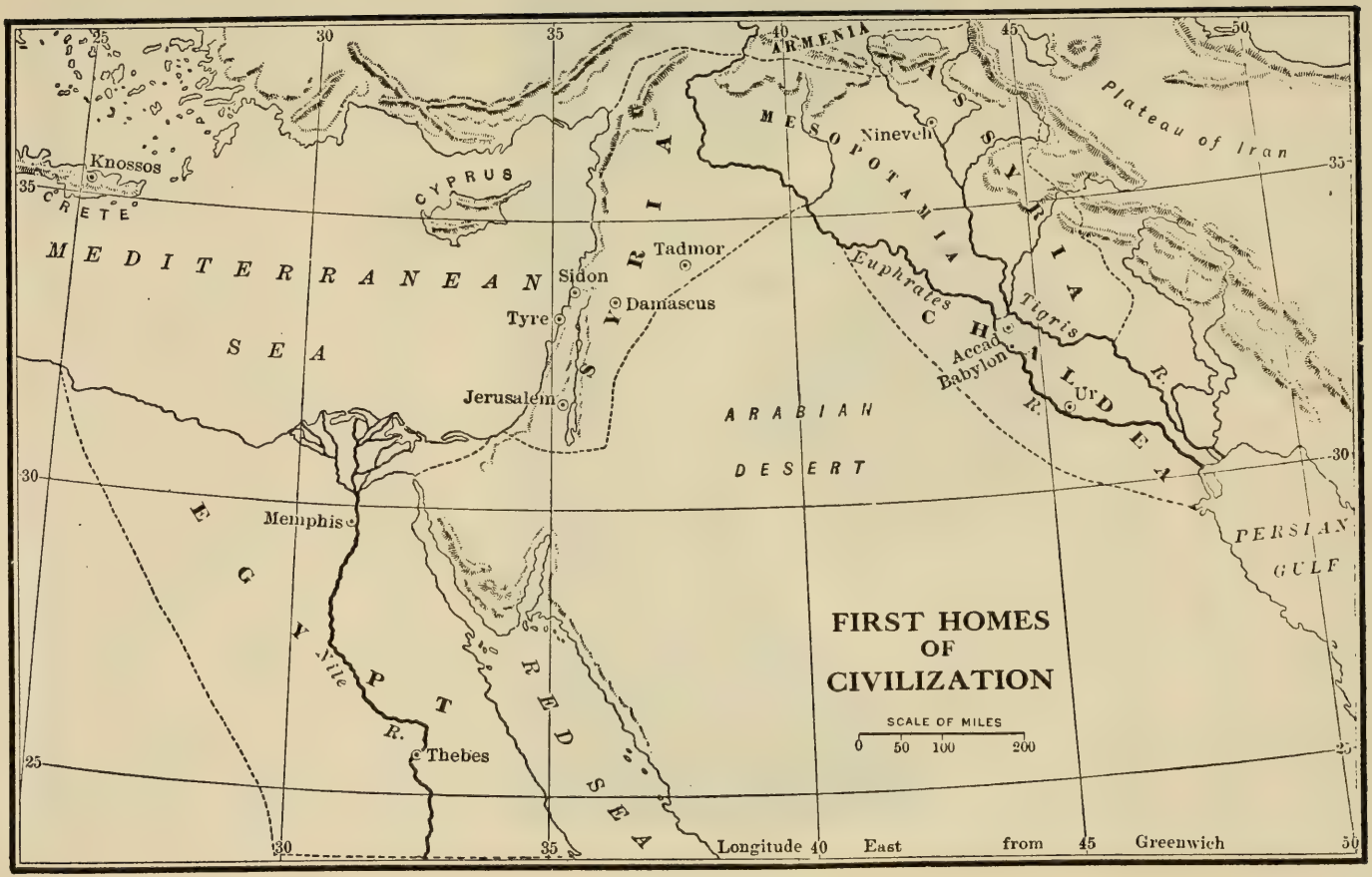
The name of King Ptolemy is distinguished by a line drawn around it.

material called papyrus.[1] From them we have the year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days. They, too, erected large and magnificent buildings, but of massive stone, and placed statues, often of gigantic size, in the public places and along streets and avenues. The walls of their temples and palaces resemble libraries in stone on account of the numerous and extensive inscriptions engraved on them.

In both countries the overflow of the rivers was used to fertilize the fields, and for this purpose miles of canals and dikes and gigantic reservoirs were constructed.

9. Civilization. — Both countries possessed a high degree of material and intellectual civilization, but it soon became rigid and unfit for any further development. The religious decay, spoken of in § 6, had set in. False gods were worshiped, the natural law inscribed in every man's heart was flagrantly and publicly violated. Yet the people were not entirely bad. Some persons practiced kindness towards their neighbor, and

[1] It was prepared from the stem of a reed called by this name. From it our word "paper" is derived.


ARMENIA
Plateau of Iran
Nineveh
MESOPOTAMIA
ASSYRIA
Knossos
CRETE
CYPRUS
SYRIA
Tadmor
MEDITERRANEAN
Sidon
Damascus
Euphrates
Tigris
R.
Tyre
SEA
CHALDEA
Accad
Babylon
Ur
Jerusalem
ARABIAN
DESERT
Memphis
PERSIAN
GULF
EGYPT
Nile
R.
RED SEA
Thebes
FIRST HOMES
OF
CIVILIZATION
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200
25
30
35
40
45
50
Longitude East from Greenwich

the civil authority on the whole succeeded in upholding law and order and protecting the essential rights of individuals, for instance, the right of property.

10. The Hebrews. — Between Babylonia and Egypt lay Palestine, the land of the Chosen People of God. For many

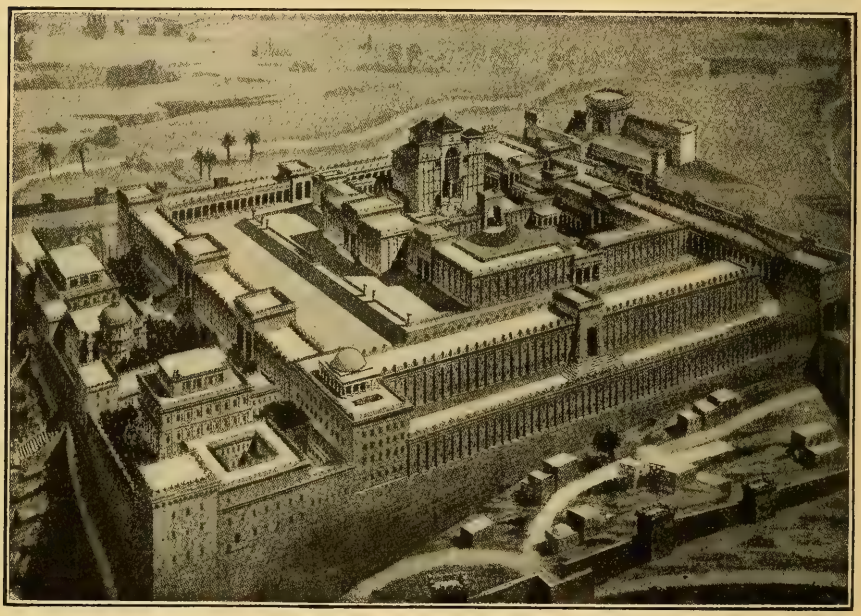
SPHINX AND PYRAMIDS IN EGYPT.

Now about five thousand years old. The sphinxes were figures having a lion's body and a human head to express both strength and wisdom. The pyramids, built of massive stones, were tombs of kings. Some are nearly five hundred feet high.

centuries this small nation was not disturbed by its mighty neighbors. Under the great kings, David and Solomon (about 1000 B.C.), it even extended its rule over other tribes and kingdoms. But after it had fallen into idolatry, God allowed the people to be carried into captivity to Babylonia, and the capital, Jerusalem, to be destroyed by Nabuchodonosor, King of the Babylonians. Later on, however, Cyrus the Great, King

of Persia, permitted them to return (§ 11). They rebuilt Jerusalem and the temple, and ever after remained faithful to the God of their Fathers, the God "Who made heaven and earth."

11. The Persians. — In the middle of the sixth century before Christ another power arose in Asia, the Persians. Their king,



TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM. — A "Restoration."

Cyrus the Great, took possession of Babylonia and many other countries. His successors conquered Egypt and soon became masters of all the lands from the river Indus in the East to the Ægean Sea in the West. In the West they met with the Greeks, who lived on both sides of the Ægean Sea. Those on the Asiatic side were overpowered, but those in Greece proper repelled the armies of Darius and Xerxes, then the kings of Persia, and retained their liberty (§ 16).

Among the Persians, religion had not sunk so low as with the Babylonians and Egyptians, though it had lost much of its

BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
Sea of Aral
R. Jaxartes
THRACE
AEGEAN SEA
GREECE
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BITHYNIA
Halys R.
PHRYGIA
MYSIA
Sardis
LYDIA
PHRYGIA
CAPPADOCIA
ARMENIA
CARIA
CILICIA
Oxus R.
SOGDIANA
Marcanda
PARTHIA
BACTRIA
Bactra
HINDUKUSH
MEDIA
Ecbatana
Euphrates R.
ASSYRIA
Tigris R.
SYRIA
Damascus
LIBYA
EGYPT
Memphis
Nile R.
Thebes
Karnak
Babylon
Susa
SAGARTIA
GANDARIA
(AFGHANISTAN)
(PUNJAB)
INDIA
Indus R.
Perseopolis
PERSIS
PERSIAN GULF
PARICANIA
RED SEA
ARABIA
ARABIAN SEA
PERSIAN EMPIRE AND GREECE 490 B.C.
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 400
Persian Empire
Greece
Royal Road

original purity. The Persians rendered great services to civilization by warding off the inroads of the barbarous Scythians from the North and by giving their vast realm an efficient administration. They made no new inventions, but they fostered whatever science and art they found in the countries they conquered. By building the first extensive highways known in history, they greatly encouraged commerce.

C. The Greeks

12. The Greek People. — As early as 3000 B.C. the coasts and islands of the Aegean Sea were inhabited by a race of talented

Cooking Utensils Found at Cnossos in Crete.

and enterprising men. The most ancient books tell us indeed very little, if anything, about them, nor have we succeeded in deciphering their inscriptions. But the remnants of their buildings and of other things they were able to produce show

them to have been a highly cultured people. The center of their civilization was the island of Crete.

After 1500 B.C., other races immigrated into these countries. At first they stood on a lower level. But possessing the same mental agility, resourcefulness, and originality, they worked out a civilization entirely their own. They finally grew into one nation which is known in history as *the Greeks*. *The Greeks are rightly called the teachers of mankind in things natural.* They lived not only in the country still called Greece, but also on all the islands and coasts of the Aegean Sea, including the coast of Asia Minor. Within the next several hundred years they established countless settlements along the shores of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean.

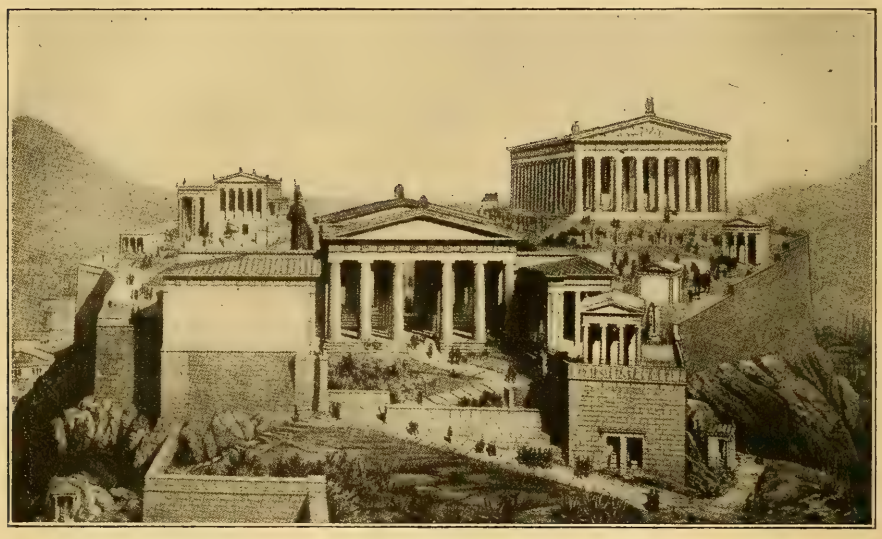
13. Geography had much to do with the character of their institutions. — They did not dwell in vast plains nor in the long-stretched valleys of mighty rivers. Their several settlements had no great common material interests to guard, nor miles of dikes to construct and to maintain. They inhabited numerous small islands, and their towns on the continent were separated from one another by mountain ridges, which though not precluding all intercourse threw every settlement more or less upon its own resources. The soil, on the whole, less fertile than in the great Oriental realms, required more labor to wrest from it the means of a livelihood. There was in consequence a stronger feeling of equality among these many cities. Individual men, too, felt more the equals of their neighbors. Greece is the home of democracy. Not even the Greek kings of the early times claimed the despotic powers enjoyed by Oriental rulers. Greece never was one large common political unit. This is the cause of its final downfall, but it is also one of the causes of Greek originality and versatility of thought. In the times of Grecian greatness every city was a little republic, but none ruled itself in exactly the same manner as its neighbor. *Oriental uniformity had given way to European diversity.*

No doubt the variety and wondrous beauty of the country, or rather countries, the intermingling of land and water, of hill and dale and sun-lit ocean, had contributed much to give the Greeks their many-sided genius and their lively but well-controlled imagination. Among all peoples before and after, none developed a greater love of harmony and proportion.

GREECE ABOUT THE TIME OF THE PERSIAN WAR.

14. Greek arts and literature reached a very high degree of perfection. Their buildings, chiefly temples, were less massive and colossal than those of the Orientals but the more graceful and attractive. The Greeks, or *Hellenes*, as they called themselves, knew how to make excellent statues and other works of the sculptural art of marble as well as metal. But more important is their *literature*. Their alphabet came originally from

the East, but they adapted it, like everything else, to the peculiar character of their language. Their oldest works, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, composed, it is said, by a blind poet, Homer, remain unsurpassed as models of epic poetry. Their dramas are essentially of the same kind as our modern plays. Historians still learn from the Greek masters Thucydides and Herodotus ("the father of history"). Their greatest philoso-



Acropolis at Athens. — A "Restoration."

phers are Socrates, who had an uncommonly clear conception of the immortality of the soul; and Aristotle, the most prominent of all non-Christian masters (§ 271).

In the *natural sciences* the Greeks made much less progress than we might be led to expect. They did not employ systematic experiments for the purpose of discovering the secrets of nature.

15. Limitations of Greek Civilization. — The brilliant Greek civilization was not without very serious drawbacks. (1) It rested essentially on slavery — less extensive indeed than that of the Oriental world, but involving nevertheless large numbers

of people. (2) Men alone partook of its benefits. Women received no education to speak of, and the wife, at best, was only a higher domestic servant. (3) Worse still, *the moral side of Greek life fell far below the intellectual.* The Greeks adored a great variety of gods and goddesses, subject to human frailties and low passions. Religion had no influence upon the moral conduct of man. Philosophers taught a lofty morality, and a few nobler characters practiced a certain degree of natural virtue. But the bulk of the people were given to an almost inconceivable immorality. The chief motive for right conduct, as far as it went, was a certain admiration, based on natural grounds, for moderation and temperance.

16. Story of the Greeks. — There was much bravery and patriotism in Greece. By the ever glorious battles of Marathon, Thermopylae, and Salamis they drove back, in the beginning of the fourth century, the huge armies of the mighty Persians (§ 11). They thus saved European civilization from being crushed by the Asiatics. A hundred and fifty years later, under the leadership of Alexander the Great, king of Macedonia, they even conquered the entire Persian Empire as far as the Indus River. Though after Alexander's death his new empire broke up into several kingdoms, Greek culture and language spread over a great part of Asia and formed a common bond of union between these lands. Another hundred and fifty years later, the Greeks had to submit to the victorious arms of the all-conquering Romans. But the brilliant city of *Athens* remained for a long time the most honored seat of intellectual civilization in the Roman Empire.

Greek Soldier.

D. The Roman Republic

17. The Romans. — While Greece was rising to the height of her civilization there grew in Italy, the peninsula west of her, another power which was destined to rule the world. This was Rome. The city, said to have been founded in 753 B.C., was in the beginning an insignificant town situated upon seven elevations, called hills, and in the valleys between them. The people spoke Latin, the language of that particular part of Italy in which the city lay. Rome enjoyed certain geographical advantages. Her citizens, moreover, were the greatest warriors the world had ever seen, and still more remarkable were they for a rare genius of organization. Soon she was the head of an alliance of some thirty Latin towns.

At this time Rome was a republic under two presidents called consuls. But there arose a fierce struggle between the lower classes of the citizens, or Plebeians, and the nobility, or Patricians, which resulted in a full equalization of the two orders. Now began a long period of conquest. Having made herself the mistress of all Italy, Rome reduced to subjection a number of countries on the western and eastern part of the Mediterranean. Her fiercest antagonist was Carthage, the next mightiest state in the West.

Greece was among the Eastern conquests. But the Romans were honest enough to recognize Grecian superiority in art and literature and intellectual life in general. The conquerors became the disciples of the conquered. Thus Greek civilization with all the elements received from the Eastern nations acquired a new opportunity to diffuse itself far and wide within the borders of the vast Roman dominions.

18. Shortcomings of Republican Rome. — Not all the inhabitants of the vast empire were Roman citizens. And of those who were, few had the opportunity to vote. *There was no representative government.* If a citizen wished to make use

THE ROMAN EMPIRE
At its Greatest Extent
With some Roman Roads
SCALE OF ENGLISH MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
SCALE OF ROMAN MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
EXPLANATION
The Roman Empire at the Death of Caesar, 44 B.C.
Additions up to the Death of Augustus, 14 A.D.
Additions up to the Death of Trajan, 117 A.D.
Roman Roads
Longitude West
Longitude East
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
MEDITERRANEAN
BRITANNIA
HIBERNIA
WALL OF HADRIAN
Eboracum
Londinium
Colonia Agrippina (Cologne)
Rhine R.
Elbe R.
Teutoberg Forest
Mogontiacum
Augusta Trevorum
Marcomanni
CELTICA
GALLIA
AQUITANIA
Bituriges
Augustodunum
Lugdunum
RAETIA
NORICUM
PANNONIA
Vindobona
Iazyges
Aquileia
Mediolanum (Milan)
Aginnum
Tolosa
NARBONENSIS
Arelate
Narbo
Massilia
Pola
Ravenna
Iadera
Salona
DALMATIA
ILLYRICUM
ITALIA
ROME
Fidenae
Ostia
CORSICA
SARDINIA
BALEARES
Tarraco
HISPANIA
TARRACONENSIS
LUSITANIA
BOETICA
Gades
New Carthage
Naples
Puteoli
Herculaneum
Pompeii
Capua
Dyrrhachium
MACEDONIA
Pydna
Pharsalus
Corinth
ACHAIA
Utica
Carthage
NUMIDIA
MAURETANIA
SICILY
Syracuse
AFRICA
Cyrene
CYRE

30
35
40
45
50
55
60
50
45
40
35
30
25
Volga
R.
Sarmatians
CASPIAN SEA
ALBANIA
COLCHIS
Chersonesus
BLACK SEA
Sinope
Byzantium
Nicomedia
BITHYNIA
PONTUS
Nicæa
GALATIA
ARMENIA
Artaxata
Pergamos
CAPPADOCIA
ASIA
Ephesus
PISIDIA
LYCONIA
Tigris
Euphrates
MESOPOTAMIA
PARTHIAN KINGDOM
Xanthus
LYCIA
PAMPHYLIA
RHODES
CYPRUS
CRETE
Issus
Antiochia
Emesa
SYRIA
Palmyra
Ctesiphon
Seleucia
Babylon
BABYLONIA
SEA
Caesarea
JUDÆA
Jerusalem
PALESTINA
Alexandria
Petra
ARABIA
Memphis
EGYPT
Nile R.
RED SEA
Mecca
25
Greenwich
30
35
40
45
50

of his franchise, he had to be in Rome to cast his ballot. Hence the franchise became the privilege of those who lived in or near Rome and of the few who could afford to travel to the capital. Moreover, a considerable number of the voters in Rome formed a mob of unruly idlers and loafers.

As long as Rome was a little city republic, and even while her sway was limited to Italy, the government was good. But when

THE CLAUDIAN AQUEDUCT.

The arches supported the channel in which the water was carried — often from distances of twenty or more miles. Remnants of such structures are found in many parts of the former Roman Empire.

the wide Mediterranean world lay at her feet, she lost her bearing for a time. For about a century the large dominions were ill governed. The moneyed men knew how to control the voting bodies so as to keep the public offices in the hands of a privileged few. They had themselves appointed governors of the provinces, and considered the wealth of these districts lawful plunder.

19. The Roman Emperors. — Then came *Julius Caesar.* After a long struggle with other ambitious but less capable men he contrived to have all the greatest offices of the republic conferred on himself alone. He was a king in reality, though he retained the titles of the republican functionaries. Thus he swept away the outgrown republic and established what is known as the "imperial government." From this time on there was but one ruler in Rome, called the "Emperor," in whose hands was all the real power. *From a republic Rome had become a monarchy.* The Roman Empire, thus constituted, was, as far as we know, *the best governed large state the world had ever seen.*

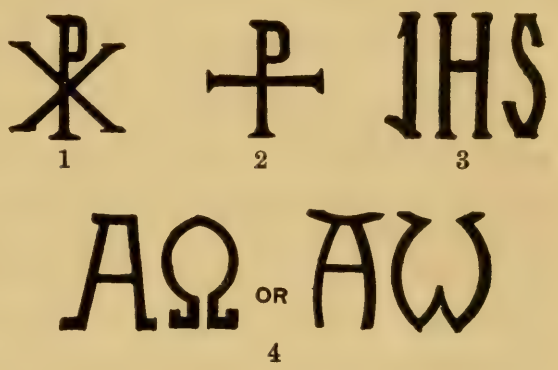
The Romans originally were not remarkable for learning, nor did they in their earlier days excel in arts and literature, in philosophy and science. But they learned so much from the Greeks (§ 17) that the writings of *Latin authors* form a most valuable contribution to the world's literature. Their direct influence upon the molding of literary art is by far greater than that of famous Hellas. In *architecture,* too, they received very much from their Grecian models. Those structures which may be said to be completely Roman were nearly all of a practical nature, for instance, their gigantic aqueducts. Peculiar to them is the employment of the vault, a contrivance of which the Greeks were ignorant. In road building the Romans surpassed all the older nations, the Persians included. But what has made the Roman Empire the basis of the modern world is the political and administrative features of its organization.

Caesar was assassinated in the year 44 B.C. But at once another Caesar arose in the person of his grand-nephew, Octavianus *Augustus.* During the long and peaceful reign of this able ruler was born Jesus Christ, the promised Redeemer of mankind.

CHAPTER II

JESUS CHRIST AND CHRISTIANITY

20. The Coming of Jesus Christ. — Religion and morality had sunk very low in the whole world. The highest religious duty of adoring the one true God "Who made heaven and earth" was grossly violated by universal idolatry. The right of the weaker members of the race, the child, the slave, the woman, were trampled under foot. One small nation alone (§ 10) remained faithful to the true God and observed the Ten Commandments; and it continued to expect the Savior of the World, Who had been promised to mankind in paradise.



ANCIENT MONOGRAMS OF CHRIST.

Figure 1 consists of the two first Greek letters of the name of Christ. X in Greek is our CH, and P is a Greek R. Constantine placed this symbol upon the Labarum, the standard of his army. In Figure 2 the lines of the X have been turned so as to form a cross, and one of them becomes identical with the vertical stroke of the P. The center letter of Figure 3 is a Greek E, so that there are here the three first letters of the name of Jesus. In later centuries the devotion of the several Christian nations has put its own interpretation upon these three letters. Figure 4 shows the first and the last letter of the Greek alphabet, "Alpha" and "Omega." It was suggested by the text, "I am the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end." Apoc. I, 8.

"In the forty-second year of the reign of the Emperor Augustus, when the whole world was at peace, JESUS CHRIST, eternal God and Son of the eternal Father, desirous to sanc-

tify the world by His most merciful coming, was born in Bethlehem of Juda, having become man, of the Virgin Mary."

The world at large took no notice of this most memorable event. Even the nation of the Jews, whose whole existence had no other purpose but to prepare for His coming, acted as if He were of no concern to them and their national life. Later, during His public teaching He proved Himself by words and miracles to be indeed the Son of God, the Messiah, foretold by the Prophets. But the leading factions among the Jews combined against Him and delivered Him up to the Roman governor, Pontius Pilate, to be crucified. After His death and resurrection, His religion began to spread over the whole world.

21. Christianity restored the worship of the true God and again made the Natural Law, as expressed in the Ten Commandments, the moral code of human conduct. The crowning point of Christianity, however, is charity, " the bond of perfection," which sees in every man a brother redeemed by the blood of Christ, and makes the practice of brotherly love a duty and even the characteristic mark of the new religion. (See *Ancient World*, §§ 572, 573.)

Those, however, who wish to receive the benefits of Christ's religion *must belong to a visible society* in which there is a well-defined difference between the governing and the governed. This society the Redeemer called His Church. He commissioned His Apostles to preach the Gospel to all nations, baptize them and teach them to observe all things He had commanded them (Matth. xxviii. 18–20). Paramount was the position of St. Peter, on whom all the strength and stability of the Church was to rest, as an edifice rests upon its foundation. The Apostles were succeeded by bishops. There was in every larger community one bishop with full jurisdiction, but assisted by priests and deacons, and sometimes by other bishops. St. Peter's prerogative passed to his successor in the See of Rome. All these offices must exist as long as there are men to be saved

by the doctrine and merits of Christ. Hence the Savior promised the Church His divine assistance until the consummation of the world, so that the gates of hell will never prevail against her.

We shall see how Christianity, protected by Divine Providence, spread in the Roman Empire and beyond its borders.

CHAPTER III

THE ROMAN EMPIRE

A. The Story of the Emperors

22. Boundaries of the Empire. — A glance at the map will show the Roman Empire extending, at this time, around the whole Mediterranean Sea. Ocean waves and sandy deserts were its defense on the South and West. The Rhine and Danube rivers practically formed its northern boundary, though Britain, the present England, was the northernmost province. The Euphrates is commonly spoken of as the eastern boundary, but this river was not a frontier like the Rhine and Danube.

North and east of the latter rivers lived the Germans or Teutons, who made constant attempts to break into the Roman dominions. East of the Euphrates were the aggressive Parthians, succeeded, later on, by a no less warlike kingdom of the Persians. Thus one of the chief tasks of the rulers of the empire was the defense of the northern and eastern frontiers.

23. The Emperors. — The first six emperors, beginning with Caesar, are called the *Julian Emperors*, because of their relationship with Julius Caesar. The second of them, the great **Augustus** (41 B.C. – 14 A.D.), subjected the governors of the provinces to strict supervision, and obliged them upon the expiration of their term of office to give an account of their administration. As a consequence they now actively sought to promote the welfare of the provincials instead of enriching themselves at their expense (§ 18). This is only one of the good points of the new system of government which slowly developed

under successive rulers. The last Julian emperor, the infamous Nero, inaugurated the first persecution of the Christians.

The two *Flavian Emperors*, Vespasian and Titus (69–96), were efficient rulers, though they, too, persecuted the Christians. At this time the Jews in Palestine revolted against the Romans, and, in punishment, Jerusalem, the Holy City, was besieged and destroyed by Titus A.D. 70. Thus was fulfilled the prophecy of Our Lord: "They shall not leave in thee a stone upon a stone" (Luke xix. 44).

Next is the period of the *Five Good Emperors* (96–180), who greatly promoted the temporal welfare of all classes. Among them Trajan and Hadrian are the most famous. Persecutions of the Christians, however, occurred under these emperors also.

Then comes the century of the *Barrack Emperors* (180–285), so called because nearly all of them were raised to the throne by the soldiers. There were twenty-five during those hundred years, and at one time nineteen pretenders claimed the imperial dignity. On several occasions the throne was literally put up at auction by the Pretorians, the emperors' bodyguard. In a war with the Persians, who threatened to overrun all the Roman provinces in Asia, the emperor Valerian was taken prisoner and died in degrading captivity. He as well as his predecessor Decius had been fierce persecutors of the Christians. There were, however, even during the period of the Barrack Emperors several excellent rulers. Under Severus Alexander the empire enjoyed many years of internal peace, the system of the Roman laws was perfected, and the emperor gave his protection to the Christians.

24. Diocletian and Constantine the Great. — A new era was introduced by the accession of Diocletian (§ 32), the same who near the close of his twenty years' reign severely persecuted the Christians (§ 39). To secure a more efficient administration and defense, he divided the vast empire into four sections, to be ruled by himself with three associate emperors. Diocletian abolished nearly all reminiscences of the old republic (§ 19). In imitation of the Persian kings *he surrounded himself with royal splendor and an elaborate court ceremonial.* He considered it more conducive to efficient government that he should be monarch not only in reality, as were his predecessors, but in name and appearance as well.

Diocletian was eventually succeeded by *Constantine the Great,* who retained and further developed the new system. He was, however, the *first Roman emperor to give full recognition to Christianity, an event which is of the utmost importance in the history of the world.*

B. Topical Survey. (1) Two Centuries of Prosperity

25. Unity and Prosperity of the Empire. — Whatever elements of civilization the Oriental and the Western world had to offer ultimately found their way into the Roman Empire. Its territory embraced the West as well as the most important nations of the East, and with its vast central sea, the Mediterranean, it covered an area of about the same size as the United States. In these countries, then, there lived under Roman sway about seventy-five million people.

Practically all these lands had been annexed by wars flagrantly unjust, and had been for at least a century robbed and illtreated most shamefully (§§ 17, 18). The fact that they now belonged to a wider body politic, and were no longer obliged to defend themselves against foreign aggression, must have reconciled them somewhat to their fate. But a complete change set in with the introduction of the new imperial methods. There grew up a universal feeling of contentment, which resulted in a common and unbounded patriotism. In language and somewhat in culture the West remained Latin and the East principally Greek. Nor was the individuality of the many races effaced. But Spaniards and Egyptians, Greeks and Britons, Italians and Syrians, all came to look upon themselves as Romans. None of the many peoples that had been forced under the Roman yoke now desired to be released from its benevolent régime.

26. All these millions rested in the **good Roman peace** for more than two hundred years. There were few wars during this period. "And the distant clash of arms on the Rhine and

the Danube or Euphrates scarcely disturbed the tranquillity of the Mediterranean lands." Few troops were seen within the empire, while all its parts were developing more and more.

Northern Africa, now so sparsely inhabited, became, by irrigation, the garden of the world. Celtic Gaul (the present France) though only lately Romanized, had its flourishing cities, with baths, amphitheaters, aqueducts, and famous schools of rhetoric and eloquence.

The follies and vices of the wicked emperors — there were few bad rulers during *this* period — affected only the nobles of the capital city, while the well fixed course of the government went on undisturbed. To the people in the provinces the emperor was the symbol of peace and prosperity.

27. Cities. — Their number was myriad. Most of them counted less than 20,000 inhabitants. Alexandria as well as Antioch may have had half a million, and four or five other cities some 250,000 each. Rome probably counted two millions. The administration of such centers of population with their dangerous mobs was in the hands of imperial officials. But the smaller towns usually elected their own magistrates. The ideas of municipal government were thus perpetuated, to be taken up later on by the new nations.

Pompeii, which was buried beneath the lava at the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 80 A.D., was one of those smaller cities. When it was excavated in recent times, some 1500 political posters were found painted on the walls, which exhibit quite modern methods of electioneering. A baker is nominated for quaestor (treasurer) on the ground that he sells "good bread." Near by a leading aristocrat is supported as one of whom it is known that "he will guard the treasury." Trade unions make some of these nominations. One "wide-open" candidate for aedile (police commissioner) is attacked by a wag in several posters, one of which reads, "All the late-drinkers ask your support for Valia."

The ex-magistrates, in such towns, made up a "senate" which voted local taxes and looked after town matters in general. In some towns the ordinances, initiated by these

"senates," were submitted to an assembly of the citizens for ratification.

The town was the center of an *agricultural district.* Outside Italy the small farms had not yet been absorbed by latifundia (large estates). There was still a sturdy peasantry, each man

Inner View of St. Paul's Gate, Rome.

The gate itself is part of the fortifications erected in the third century under Emperor Aurelian, but received its present shape 200 years later. The pyramid, about 120 feet high, was built in B. C. 12 as the tomb of one Cajus Cestus. By this way St. Paul was led out to execution.

owning his own farm or holding as tenant a plot which his ancestors had worked under the same terms for generations. The larger cities, of course, were busy with *industry* and manufacture of all kinds. Each had its trades unions. The bakers' union of Rome listed more than 250 shops. The Emperor Hadrian, upon a visit to Alexandria in Egypt, wrote in a letter: "No one is idle here; some work glass; some make paper (from the

papyrus plant); some weave linen. Money is the only god." This was true of all the big emporiums of the empire.

28. Travel on sea and land was perfectly safe from end to end of the vast dominion. The ports were crowded with shipping, and the Mediterranean was spread with happy sails. One Roman writer exclaims that there are as many men upon the waves as upon land. The grand military roads ran in trunk-lines from every frontier toward the heart of the empire, with a network of branches in every province. This made possible a rapid exchange of all products of industry. Jewelry made in Asia Minor was worn by women in the Swiss mountains; and Italian wines were quaffed in Britain and Cilicia.

There was also a vast *commerce with regions beyond the boundaries of the empire.* As English and French traders, three hundred years ago, journeyed far into the unexplored regions of America for bargains in furs, so the indomitable Roman trader pressed on into parts where Roman legions had never camped. They visited Ireland. From the Baltic shores they brought back amber, furs, and flaxen German hair with which the dark Roman ladies liked to deck their heads. A Latin poet of the time speaks of the " many merchants " who amassed " immense riches " by daring voyages over the Indian Ocean to the mouth of the Ganges. *Men traveled for pleasure* as well as for business. It seems to have been at least as common a thing for the gentlemen of Gaul or Britain to visit the wonders of Rome and of the Nile as it is for the modern American to spend a summer in Europe.

29. Literature and Learning (§ 19). — It is impossible here even to mention the great number of poets, historians, essayists, philosophers, and other writers, who have made these two hundred years illustrious. The most important of all literary productions, however, were the books of the New Testament, whose true author is God Himself (§ 1). They were finished before the year 100 A.D. The three great centers of learning were Rome, Alexandria, and Athens. In these cities existed *universities,* as we would call them now, with numerous professorships and large libraries (of manuscripts). The professors

ranked as Roman nobles, with good salaries, and assured pensions after twenty years of service. Language, rhetoric, and philosophy made up a group of literary studies, called the *trivium*. The sciences, music, arithmetic, geometry and astronomy formed the *quadrivium*. Law was a specialty in Rome, medicine at Alexandria.

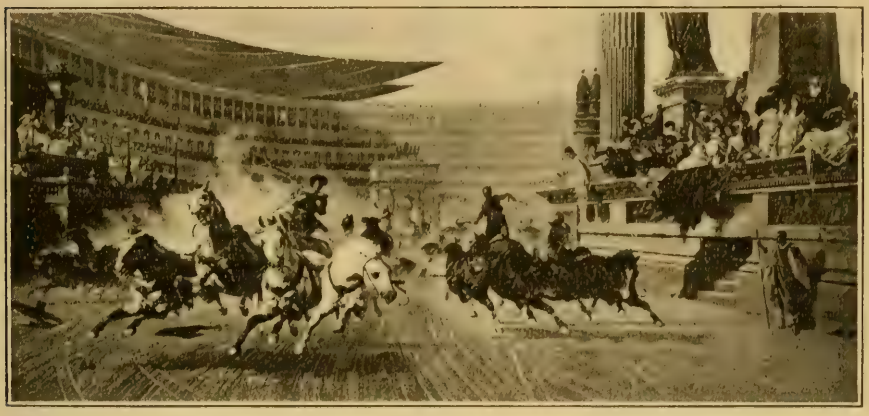
In all the large provincial towns there were *grammar schools*, likewise endowed by the emperors. Those of Spain and Celtic Gaul were especially famous, and in particular the schools at Marseilles, Autun, Narbonne, Lyons, Bordeaux, Toulouse. The walls of the classrooms were painted with maps, dates, and lists of facts. The masters enjoyed privileges similar to those of the professors in the imperial universities.

Many of the small towns possessed schools of a lower grade. But all this education was for the benefit of the upper and middle classes, and for the few bright boys of the lower ranks who were lucky enough to find a wealthy patron. *Little was done to dispel the ignorance of the masses.*

30. Morals. — The morals of the Roman Empire do not represent so bright an aspect. Through idolatry they had "changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the likeness of corruptible man." Therefore "God delivered them up to a reprobate sense," and they became "filled with iniquity, avarice, full of envy, deceit, malignity; haughty, proud, disobedient to parents, without affection, without fidelity, without mercy." This is the verdict of St. Paul in his epistle to the Romans (Chapter I).

Rome herself was indeed the very seat of iniquity. Not only the rabble but highly accomplished men, and women as well, enjoyed the bloody fights of the *gladiators* — men who, sometimes by the hundred, battled with one another in deadly combat. Similar atrocities were connected with the theatrical shows. *The fact that such cruelties were clamored for by the people as a right reveals an unspeakably low standard of public*

morals. Among the Romans the women had always held a more honorable position than among the Greeks. During the period we speak of they enjoyed still greater liberty. This served, unfortunately, to estrange them more and more from their natural love of the home where woman reigns as queen of the household. Divorces, always lawful in Rome, now became of dreadful frequency. Child murder, the destruction of the blossoming life, was very general. Roman civilization, like



Roman Chariot Race. — A modern imaginative painting.

that of Greece, was built upon slavery, but the horrors of Roman slavery were greater and its effects more disastrous. The armies of slaves kept by the wealthy Romans deprived the poorer classes of many of the opportunities for work, and thus helped to swell the crowds of idlers who lived at the expense of the state.

Where Rome led all must follow. There was no provincial town, however small, which did not cherish the ambition to become a miniature reproduction of the capital. Rome herself had received much of her corruption from the highly cultured eastern lands. She now passed it on, increased and intensified, to the western provinces, where it slowly but surely blighted the few primitive and natural virtues which had survived.

By way of contrast to the depravity that reigned in Roman society, instances of kindness and compassion, of true friendship and domestic happiness, are found recorded. At best, however, all this was too exceptional to modify the severe indictment pronounced by so competent a judge as the Apostle of the Gentiles.

C. Topical Survey. (2) Two Centuries of Decline

31. Lack of Men. — In ancient times Rome had possessed a considerable degree of sterling natural virtue, which secured the sanctity of matrimony and the respect for social relations and human life in general. The little that was left of this old morality at the time of Caesar was fast disappearing during the most glorious period of Rome's history. The brilliancy of her administration, however, prevented some of the evil effects from rising too boldly to the surface. **It was different after the advent of the "Barrack Emperors."** Bad rulers far outnumbered the good, and the machinery of the state began once more to weaken before the increasing attacks of immorality.

Slavery kept on grinding down free labor. The slaves themselves as a rule were not permitted to marry and the free people, rich and poor, did not care to have families and raise children. To this must be added the fearful ravages of *pestilence* which after the year 166 several times swept the empire from east to west. (See the effects of the Black Death on Europe (§ 286).) Under the good emperors the population had become stationary. Now, it was constantly on the decline. The only measure which retarded the diminution of the numbers that inhabited the once glorious cities and the fertile districts was the *introduction of barbarians from without.* As kidnaped slaves, as prisoners of war, as tribes admitted on friendly terms, as foreign-born soldiers discharged from service, they entered the empire in ever increasing numbers. Still they but partially filled up the gaps in the population.

Lack of men was the growing evil of the empire. More-

over, the old warlike spirit was no longer alive in the millions that remained. The armies consisted chiefly of foreigners, mostly Germans. The citizen armies were a thing of centuries long past.

32. The Accession of Diocletian (§ 24) wrought a change which gave the empire new strength for two hundred more years. The four great divisions, each under a separate ruler, were subdivided in various ways. There was now a series of officials in regular grades as in an army. Each official sifted all the business that came up to him from his subordinates and sent on to his superior the more important matters. This arrangement fixed responsibilities precisely and distributed duties in a workable way. It was kept up and developed under the next emperor, Constantine the Great, and his successors. It maintained order in the interior and made the boundaries secure against the attacks of barbarians. But it was not without *evil results*.

33. Taxes Became Crushing and Specie Became Scarce. — The swarms of new officials, each with a staff of assistants and a domestic court, must, perforce, be supported by taxation, while the reorganization of the army necessitated new and increasing expenses. The time came when the people dreaded the tax-collector more than the barbarians. There was, moreover, and had been for centuries, a constant drain of the precious metals to foreign countries (§ 28). Though the supply within the empire did not equal this loss, the rich continued to turn gold and silver into articles of ornament. Hence even the imperial officers were forced to take part of their salaries in kind — robes, horses, grain. Trade began to return to the primitive form of barter. (See *Ancient World*, § 19.)

34. The Classes of Society Were Becoming Fixed. — At the top was the emperor. At the bottom were peasantry and artisans, who produced food and wealth wherewith to pay taxes. Between were two aristocracies, — a small imperial nobility, and a local aristocracy of each city.

The Aristocracies. (1) *The imperial nobility* were great landed proprietors. They had many special privileges. Through their influence upon the government, they escaped most of the burdens of taxation — which they were better able to meet than any other class.

The homes of these nobles, and of the wealthy men of the middle class, were places of comfort and luxury. The rooms were usually built around one or more "courts" open to the sky. In its center, ornamental fountains played, surrounded by flowering shrubs, with marble statues gleaming through the foliage. Besides his town house, each wealthy citizen had one or more country houses, with extensive, parklike grounds containing fish-ponds, vineyards, and orchards. Such establishments, surrounded by large walls, were called *villas*. The troops of slaves that tilled the soil had their huts leaning against the wall of the villa grounds; and the more skilled artisans, — carpenters, smiths, bakers, — lived in somewhat better quarters. For most purposes a villa was self-sufficient. It raised its own food and prepared it for the table, and carried on most of the other industries necessary for the ordinary life of its inhabitants.

(2) *The local nobility* (*curials*) were the families of the senate class (§ 27) in their respective cities. They, too, had some special privileges. They could not be drafted into the army or subjected to bodily punishment. They were compelled, however, to undergo great expenses in connection with the offices they had to fill. And, in particular, they were made responsible, personally, for the collection of the imperial taxes in their districts.

Between these local nobles and the artisans there had been, in the day of the early empire, *a much larger middle class of landowners, merchants, bankers, and professional men.* **This class had now almost disappeared.** Some were compelled by law to take up the duties of the vanishing curials. More, in the financial ruin of the period, sank into the working class.

35. The Artisans had long been grouped in gilds (trades unions; see § 27). The gild regulated methods of work and had

great control over its members. *The artisans were now bound each to his gild as the curial was bound to his office.* Their condition had deteriorated very much. An edict of Diocletian regarding prices and wages shows that a workman received not more than one-tenth the wages of an American workman of like grade, while food and clothing cost at least one-third as much as now.

36. Serfdom. When the empire began, free small-farmers were growing fewer over much of the realm, while great estates (§ 27) were growing more numerous. Grain culture decreased, and large areas of land ceased to be tilled. To remedy this state of affairs, the emperors introduced a new system. After successful wars, they *gave* large numbers of barbarian captives to great landlords, — thousands in a batch, — not as slaves, but as *coloni*, or serfs. The purpose was to secure *a hereditary class of farm laborers*, and so keep up the food supply. The coloni were really given *not to the landlord, but to the land.*

They were not personal property, as slaves were. *They were part of the real estate.* They, and their children after them, were attached to the soil, and could not be sold off it. They had some rights which slaves did not have. They could contract a legal marriage, and each had his own plot of ground, of which he could not be dispossessed so long as he paid to the landlord a fixed rent in labor and in produce.

The existence and growth of serfdom made it still more difficult for the free small-farmer to hold his place. *That class, more and more, sank into serfs. On the other hand, many slaves rose into serfdom,* until the great majority of laborers on the soil were of this order.

CHAPTER IV

RISE AND VICTORY OF CHRISTIANITY

37. First Propagation of Christianity. — Fifty days after the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead the Holy Ghost descended upon the Apostles, and St. Peter preached the first missionary sermon to a vast crowd of Jews. Three thousand souls entered the newborn Church that day. The Apostles at first confined their efforts to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, where numerous communities of fervent Christians soon grew up. But a persecution scattered the flourishing congregation of Jerusalem far beyond the boundaries of Palestine. This resulted in the establishment of Christianity in many pagan cities, notably Antioch, the intellectual and commercial center of the Orient. St. Peter himself was the first bishop of this metropolis. But so far these new Christian communities were recruited exclusively from the Jewish colonies which existed in nearly all the large cities.

Soon, however, the conversion of *pagans* was inaugurated, and assumed greater proportions. The great St. Paul, more than any other Apostle, made this his special task. St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, after laboring for some time in Antioch, transferred his residence to the Capital of the World, the city on the Tiber. Here he died a martyr's death by crucifixion, in the persecution under Nero, and here, too, St. Paul was beheaded on the same day.

The arrival of the humble fisherman made Rome what she was destined to be: the residence of the Vicars of Christ on earth. It was the greatest event in her history.

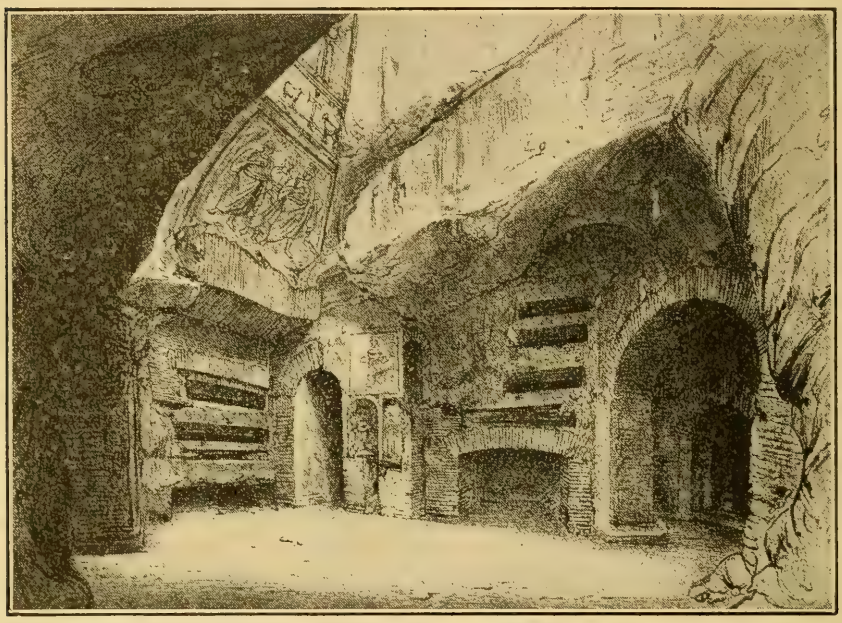
Meanwhile Christ's religion continued its peaceful march of victory throughout the Roman world and beyond its borders. It is estimated that by the middle of the second century, that is a little more than a hundred years after the death of Christ, there were about a million Christians. Within another one hundred and fifty years this number had at least trebled, and may have reached ten millions.

38. Advantages of the True Religion. — Christianity had its most powerful ally in the *natural desire of every human soul for truth and happiness.* The teachings of the true religion, in themselves so extremely reasonable, and at the same time proposed in so simple a garb as to be intelligible alike to the learned and the unlearned, naturally made a strong appeal to those common cravings. There was, moreover, the virtuous life of the faithful, especially their great charity, the miracles wrought by God in their behalf, and, among many other things, the missionary zeal of the Christians, including women and even slaves and last, but not least, soldiers.

Divine Providence had prepared the world in many ways for the spread of the new religion. The many separate states around the Mediterranean had disappeared in the unity of the Roman Empire, and one or two languages sufficed for the whole Roman world (§ 25). The farther provinces were made more accessible by the excellent system of Roman roads and the security of travel on land and sea (§ 28). The Romans to a very large extent allowed their subjects to practice any religion they pleased. Greek philosophy, too, had spread ideas which, at least among the educated, made the assimilation of Christian ideas less difficult.

39. Persecutions. — Christ's religion was, however, not allowed to increase in numbers without meeting serious opposition. As the world persecuted Him while on this earth, so it persecuted His adherents. For nearly three hundred years there was hardly any time in which Christians were not suffer-

ing for their faith in some part of the wide empire. The so-called TEN PERSECUTIONS are only so many highwater marks of the storm-tide which never completely subsided.



Crypt of St. Cecilia in the Catacombs of St. Calixtus.

From *The Catholic Encyclopedia.*

The causes or rather pretexts were manifold. The people could not bear a religion which came from so despised a race, which proclaimed the Divinity of one crucified as a rebel, which demanded abstention from gladiatorial combats and similar spectacles, which insisted upon the sacredness of marriage, and which enjoined the adoration of One God alone, to the exclusion of all others, even the " divine " emperor. The Christians on hearsay testimony were accused of the most heinous crimes, and were blamed for every calamity which befell the empire. " When the Tiber rises above its banks, when the Nile does not overflow, if the earth quakes, if famine and pestilence come: up goes the cry, ' The Christians to the lions.' "

In the *courts* in general no serious attempt was made to find out the truth of these accusations. The trial consisted in an effort, by means of kindness, threats, or tortures, to make the Christians renounce their

faith. If this was successful, no mention was again made of crimes. Otherwise some painful kind of death was the ordinary penalty.

The most terrible of all persecutions was that under Diocletian.[1] For more than fifteen years he had rather favored the Christians. But towards the close of his otherwise beneficent reign, his advisers succeeded in convincing him that Christianity was a serious menace to the empire. With his usual energy he took up the struggle. The dungeons became so filled with bishops and clerics that no room was left for real criminals. In some places the executions amounted to a hundred a day, not counting those that were thrown to the wild beasts in the amphitheaters. One governor had an entire city surrounded by soldiers and set on fire so that all, men, women, and children, perished in the flames.

During times of persecution the Christians of Rome held divine services in the *catacombs*. These are underground galleries, excavated in the soft rock in the neighborhood of the city, running in every direction, often on several levels or " stories " and widening here and there into rooms and spacious halls. They were the burial places of the Christians. Graves were hollowed out on both sides of the galleries, more notable ones for the popes and other prominent persons. (See picture.)

After having been forgotten for many centuries, the catacombs have been discovered again and made the subject of veneration and study. The explorers find in them large numbers of inscriptions and paintings, which clearly show the unity of faith in all essential dogmas.

40. Victory of Christianity. — Constantine the Great (§ 23), the successor of Diocletian, was the instrument employed by Divine Providence at last to give peace to the Church.

Constantine was marching against Maxentius, his adversary. One day he beheld in the skies a fiery cross with the inscription, " In this

[1] Diocletian was one of the few persecutors that cannot be set down without qualification as a bad ruler. Some other persecuting emperors must be credited, too, with a certain amount of natural virtue. We shall probably never find out how far these were personally guilty.

thou wilt conquer." During the following night he saw a vision of Christ, who told him to approach the enemy under the standard of the cross. This he did. The new standard, called " Labarum, " preceded his host in the battle at the Milvian Bridge, near Rome, in which Maxentius suffered a crushing defeat and was drowned in the Tiber. Constantine publicly ascribed the victory to the God of the Christians.

Church of "St. John-in-the-Lateran," Rome.

The adjoining palace, donated by Constantine, served for a thousand years as the residence of the Sovereign Pontiffs. But after their return from Avignon they began to reside in the Vatican. (§ 327 ff.)

In the year 313 *Constantine published his famous Edict of Milan, by which full liberty was granted to the Christians.* All confiscated property was restored to them, together with their ecclesiastical establishments. The Church obtained the power to hold property in its own name, and great privileges enabled the bishops and priests to carry out their sacred duties more efficiently. For the time being, paganism was not prohibited, but it ceased to be the only religion recognized by public author-

ity. The emperor donated large estates to the popes and other bishops. *In Constantine the imperial dignity obtained the position which Divine Providence had destined for it,* namely, to be the protector of the Church of Christ. Unfortunately Constantine, instead of confining himself strictly to affairs within the province of the state, sometimes meddled with matters closely connected with doctrines of faith. But taken all in all his long reign has been the source of immense blessings to the world.

His most momentous step of a purely secular character was the transfer of the capital to his *new city of Constantinople* on the Bosphorus. No emperor ever again made Rome his permanent residence. It still remained the Queen of the World, but became more and more the city of the popes. The papacy was thus enabled to develop its great resources more freely and independently.

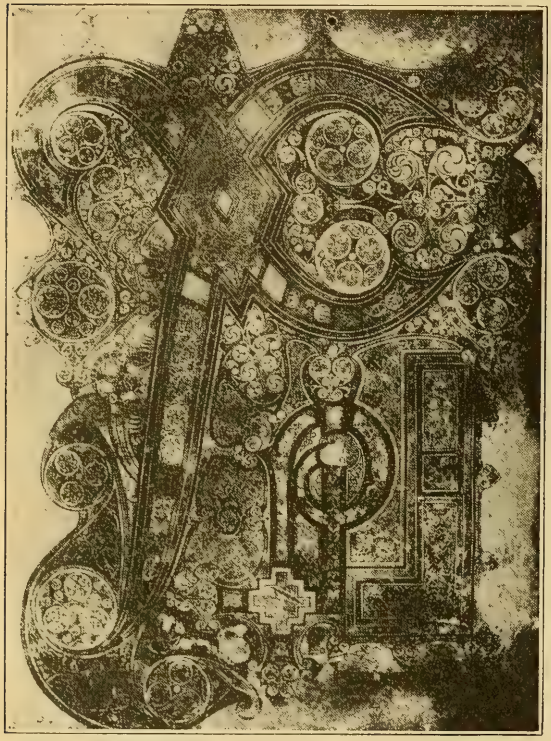
One of Constantine's successors, Julian, fell away from Christianity to paganism (hence his epithet, " the Apostate ") and tried to restore the old religion. It was in vain. Forty years later paganism was forbidden by Theodosius the Great, though it took a long time before it actually disappeared.[1]

The Edict of Milan was the most momentous step ever taken by any secular ruler. It threw the history of the world into new channels. The fact that it happened just at this time made possible the conversion and civilization of the German barbarians who later on conquered the Roman Empire politically.

41. Further Development of Christianity. — The Church now began her public career, as the reformer of human society. Her supreme mission was to restore the adoration of the One True God " Who made heaven and earth," and to undo by the power of the Divine Savior the effects of Adam's sin in the souls

[1] Paganism remained longest in the open country. Hence its name, which comes from a Latin word meaning rustic. For a similar reason the Christianized Teutons spoke of their non-Christian tribesmen as heathens (heath-dwellers).

of men. Our previous remarks on Roman morals (§ 30) outline to some extent the gigantic task she was to accomplish.[1]



THE "MONOGRAM PAGE" OF THE BOOK OF KELLS.

The Book of Kells is an Irish manuscript containing the four Gospels and some other minor works. It dates from about 700 A.D. "No words can describe the beauty and splendor of the richly colored initial letters." This page, the most famous, shows the monogram of Christ.

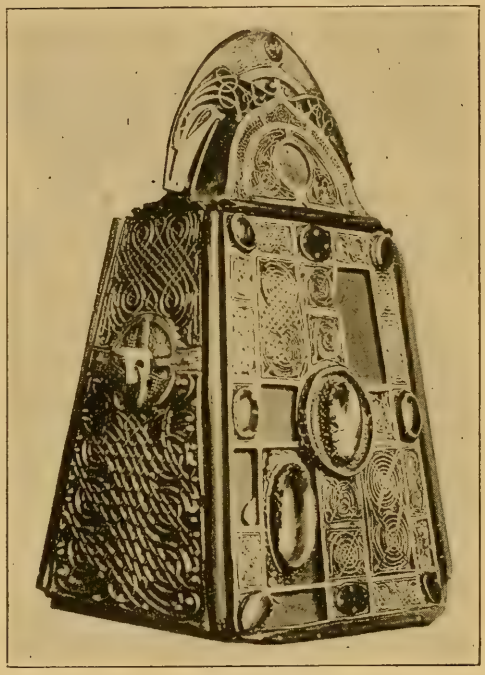
Slavery was not indeed abolished at one blow. But the Church insisted on the equality of all men before God and encouraged the voluntary manumission of slaves. The laws, revised in a Christian spirit by the emperors, safeguarded the essential rights of slaves. Other circumstances not under the control of the Church contributed also to the same end and slavery gradually disappeared (§ 36).

Soon after the Edict of Milan had been proclaimed, *Arius*, a priest of Alexandria in Egypt, began to preach the doctrine that Jesus Christ is not God but only God's noblest creature. This heresy struck at the very root of Christianity. In 325 Constantine, with the approval of the pope, caused a Council to assemble at Nicaea

[1] It was during this period that, for the purpose of more efficient administration, *archbishoprics* or *ecclesiastical* provinces were established, each consisting of several bishoprics or dioceses, under an archbishop or metropolitan. St. Peter had been the first bishop of Antioch and had commissioned his

in Asia Minor where this dangerous heresy was condemned by 318 bishops, met under the presidency of three papal legates.

42. While the interior of the empire was thus more and more Christianized, *missionaries* went in great numbers into *foreign lands*. They established fervent Christian communities in the new *Persian kingdom* (§ 22) and in other non-Roman countries. In this work of expansion St. Patrick played an important part.[1] In 432 he set out for the conversion of *Ireland*. The result of his labors was an intensely Christian nation, whose religious earnestness showed itself in the rise of numerous and well-peopled monastic establishments. In the troublous times which were to come over the continent, science, both sacred and profane, found a refuge in these Irish convents. Irish monks under St. Columba



SHRINE OF ST. PATRICK'S BELL.

A work similar to the Tara Brooch. (See picture on page 59.) It was made about the beginning of the twelfth century.

disciple, St. Mark, to found the bishopric of Alexandria. The bishops of these two sees were now looked upon as superior in dignity and power to the archbishops. They were called *Patriarchs*. In the West the successor of St. Peter in Rome acted as patriarch, besides being the head of the whole Church. Later on Jerusalem and Constantinople were also raised to the dignity of patriarchates. *Primates* rank above all the archbishops and bishops of a certain nation or country. The subdivision of dioceses into regular *parishes* is of much later date. Distant country districts, however, were always taken care of in a somewhat parish-like fashion.

[1] Special Report: St. Patrick. — T. W. Allies, *Monastic Life*, pp. 174 ff.

undertook the Christianization of present Scotland, where they founded, upon the Island of Iona, a great monastery as the center and base of their pious enterprises. The monks of Ireland and Iona contributed largely to the complete Christianization and civilization of Central Europe (§ 62).

Some of the *German tribes* which lived upon the border of the empire were Christianized by Arians. Later on, when forcing their way across the frontiers, they brought their Arianism with them. These tribes have vanished from history, as we shall see. Those only survived which professed the "Nicene Creed."

For Further Reading. — Conway, C. P., *Studies in Church History:* Christian Asceticism, pp. 3–31; The Government of the Church in the First Century, pp. 32–55; Christianity and the Roman Law, pp. 56–70. — Fiction: Spillman, S. J., *Lucius Flavus* (a tale of the eve of the destruction of Jerusalem). O'Reilly, A. J., *The Martyrs of the Colosseum.* Wiseman, Card., *Fabiola* (a tale of the Catacombs).

CHAPTER V

DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE

43. The Later Empire. — Constantine the Great divided the government of the empire among his three sons. One of them finally obtained the whole. Similar divisions and reunions took place several times. But the East and West showed an increasing tendency to fall apart. Constantinople remained the capital of the whole when the empire was united, and of the East when the West was separated. The emperors of the Western half resided either in Milan or at Ravenna. The dividing line, roughly speaking, was the Adriatic Sea. The Eastern division was later on called the *Greek Empire* on account of the language prevailing there; or the *Byzantine Empire* from Byzantium, the original name of Constantinople (§ 40). The succession of Western emperors ceased entirely in 476, when Odoaker, king of an invading German nation, declared the young Emperor Romulus Augustulus deposed, sent the imperial robes of state to Constantinople, and proclaimed himself ruler in the name of the far-off emperor.

These repeated divisions were not thought to constitute different empires. On the contrary **the idea of the ONE empire as the secular center of Christian and civilized society was so firmly rooted in the minds of men, that a world without the empire seemed a thing impossible.** The invaders, as we shall see, fought against the Roman legions, even against the person of the emperor; but they would never profess themselves enemies of the empire itself.

CHAPTER VI

THE TEUTONIC CONQUEST

(Migration of Nations)

A. The Peoples — Old and New

44. The Population of the Empire — The Celto-Romans. — Ethnically the population within the empire remained much the same as during the previous period, with the exception of the quiet infiltration of Germanic settlers along the boundaries, and in some places of the interior (§ 26). The rising power of Christianity did not work any change in this regard. Intellectual life, too, moved essentially in the same channels, except that pagan ideas yielded to Christian truth. The same cities remained its principal seats. Special mention, however, is due to the *Celtic population* in northern Italy, in Gaul, and northern Spain. These Celts were thoroughly Romanized. Their language had given way to that of Rome. Their schools more than rivaled those in other parts of the empire (§ 24). A remarkable number of the foremost writers of the time sprung from these regions or received their education there. At the beginning of the fifth century a well-organized Christianity was the religion of all these countries. The Celts of Roman Britain, too, were Christians. They had been tried in the fire of the Diocletian persecution and were like the rest organized under their own bishops.

45. In Ireland lived the only Celts not under Roman sway (§ 42). Christianity did not abolish the existing Irish institutions but purified and perfected them. During the next three centuries the island was undisturbed by foreign invasions,

and reached a high degree of true civilization. The people were ruled by native chieftains and kings, called Righs, under the Ard-Righ, the "King of Ireland," who resided at Tara. Chieftainship and kingship were elective, though limited to members of the chief's or king's family. An elaborate system of laws, controlled by a professional class of jurists, *the Brehons*, regulated all conditions and relations between high and low. Prose and poetry of all shapes, the drama alone excepted, were cultivated by professional writers. Education — there were convent schools and lay schools — was cast into an elaborate system, the full course requiring twelve years. Music was greatly esteemed and almost generally practiced. The products of the metal worker's art, and the books copied and illuminated at that period still rouse our highest admiration. Agriculture was the main occupation. Foreign trade was not neglected. True, life was extremely simple. All the buildings, including most of the numerous churches, were of wood. Domestic wars were waged and crimes committed. Nor did slavery and serfdom disappear. But in this regard the continent was certainly no better off. The Brehon law contained intertribal regulations which essentially mitigated the evils of war. The people as people were fervently Christian, and social intercourse was pervaded by genuine charity and by the refinement and politeness of a highly cultured society. — More remains to be said under another heading (§ 62).

46. The Germans or Teutons [1] had long roamed beyond the boundary line formed by the Rhine and the Danube. Repeatedly they tried to enter the empire. Thousands had indeed settled within its frontiers (§ 31). Now they were to force their way into the Roman lands as enemies. The empire in its

[1] In this historical connection the word German is used in a wider sense, including the ancestors of all the peoples now inhabiting Germany, Holland, Scandinavia, and other lands. In this sense some historians prefer Germanic. Teutonic is derived from Teut, the name of the fabulous ancestor of the whole race.

present form was to come to an end, not, however, without exercising a lasting influence on its conquerors. New states were to arise, and nearly all those of modern Europe were developed from these Teutonic foundations.

The Teutons possessed some primitive civilization and peculiar political institutions. Those nearer the empire were more advanced than the rest. All dwelt in plain huts built of wood. They subsisted chiefly upon the cattle they raised and by hunting and fishing. Agriculture, little encouraged by the climate and the condition of the soil, was almost exclusively left to the women and old men. Their commerce was barter. Outside of the armorer's trade handicraft was little developed. They had no true alphabet and no real literature; their simple ballads were orally transmitted and sung to the sound of rude music.

They were noted for their blue eyes and flaxen hair. Their huge bodies made them appear giants to the Romans. The damp and cold climate often made them drunkards and gluttons. They freely indulged in gambling, and when other wealth was lost would stake their liberty on the throw of the dice. Still they had noble traits not commonly found in uncivilized peoples. They revered women. The men dreaded the captivity of their wives, daughters, mothers, or sisters, much more than their own. The Roman historian Tacitus dwells upon the purity and affection of their family life. They possessed, above all, a proud spirit of individual liberty, "a high stern sense of manhood, and the worth of man. . . ."

Their religion was a rude polytheism. Woden (Wotan), the war god, held the first place in their worship, and from him the noble families claimed descent. Thor or Donner, whose hurling hammer caused the thunder, was the god of storms and of the air. Freya was the deity of joy and fruitfulness.[1]

[1] These Teutonic gods live still in our names for the days of the week; Woden's day, Thor's day, and Freya's day are easily recognized in their modern dress. Tuesday and Saturday take their names from two obscure gods, Tiw and Saetere; while the remaining two days are the Moon's day and the Sun's day.

47. It is erroneous to think of the Germans of those days as one political unit. *They were divided into numerous tribes*, large and small, which occasionally waged war with one another or formed alliances with other nations. Language, common customs, certain unwritten laws, and religion were the only bond of union, and even in these respects there was some diversity among them. The Teutonic nations most frequently mentioned in history are the *Goths*, subdivided into *East Goths* (Ostrogoths) and *West Goths* (Visigoths), the *Vandals*, *Burgundians*, *Lombards*, *Alemanni*, *Bavarians*, *Saxons*, and *Franks*.

48. *Government.* — The members of a tribe lived scattered in several villages, each of which had its assembly and its chief. There was also an assembly for the whole tribe. Many tribes elected *kings*, but only from the members of the royal family. The newly chosen king was raised upon a shield and carried through the multitude. Other tribes had no such common head during peace times, but created *dukes* as leaders for the management of wars.

Powerful chiefs surrounded themselves with bands of **companions** who lived in the chief's household, ate at his table, fought his battles, and were ready to give their lives for the safety of their lord. To survive his death, or leave his body to the foe, was a lifelong disgrace. The chief, in turn, was dishonored, if he failed to do his utmost for the safety of his companions. This "personal loyalty" to a great extent corresponded to the Roman loyalty to the state.

49. Other Races. About this time another nation, known as the *Slavs*, began to appear in the rear of the Teutons. Under this name we now group the Poles, Bohemians, Slavonians, and others. Behind both Teutons and Slavs there looms up a confused mass of an entirely different stock, the *Turanians* (including the Mongols or Tartars), represented in the European population of to-day chiefly by the Magyars (Hungarians proper) and the Turks. The fiercest of the Turanians, the *Huns*, furnished the occasion for the beginning of the "Wandering of Nations" and were soon to enter the Roman Empire themselves.

B. The Wandering of Nations

50. Character. — A.D. 400 or thereabouts began the victorious entry of the Teutonic nations into the Roman world. They defeated the Roman armies and set up their own kingdoms in the midst of the Roman population. Still they had no thought of uprooting the empire as such. The mighty fabric with its wonderful methods of government, its imposing cities and majestic buildings, stood too high in the opinion of these open-hearted children of nature. They had, moreover, made their own the conviction of the Romans that the empire was an absolute necessity for the welfare of mankind and consequently neither should nor could be destroyed at all. The fiction prevailed that the Teutonic kings of the states founded on Roman soil had their power from the emperor, though in practice they cared little for his supremacy (§ 43).

51. The Migrations of the Teutons. — (1) In 375 the Huns (§ 49) crossed the Volga and attacked the **East Goths** who lived north of the Black Sea. These in turn forced the **West Goths** out of their seats. The latter, with their wives and children, fled southwest to the Danube, carrying their goods in long lines of wooden carts. They petitioned the emperor Valens at Constantinople to give them lands south of the river. The petition was granted, but the greed of imperial agents who were to furnish them food soon drove them into rebellion. They defeated and killed the emperor and obtained better terms, but rose again after twenty years for the same reason. They now roamed for several years, plundering and devastating, through Greece, Dalmatia, Italy, and Gaul, settled on both sides of the Pyrenees, and founded the West Gothic kingdom, which included the south of Gaul and practically all Spain. The most important event during these wanderings was the *three days' sack of Rome*, the news of which struck the civilized world like a thunderbolt. The West Goths were Arians

After 507 the Kingdom of the West Goths in Gau

limited to a small southern strip (Septimania)

(§§ 41, 42). Only after their conversion to Catholicity, in 585 A.D., did they fuse with the " Roman " population. In 711 their kingdom was overpowered by the Mohammedans. But they reconquered the Spanish peninsula by wars that lasted eight hundred years, and thus formed the kingdoms of *Spain* and *Portugal.*

The **Vandals**, after a long migration and a temporary stay in Spain, settled in North Africa. A.D. 455 their warriors sailed over to Italy and inflicted upon the helpless capital of the world a second plundering much more frightful than the first. The Vandals ever remained Arians and fiercely persecuted the Catholic population. After a hundred years they disappeared from history.

The **Burgundians** took possession of the Rhone valley. They were Arians but eventually became Catholics. On account of some historical connection with them, the name of Burgundy was in later times applied to several different regions.

Italy suffered most under these invasions. People after people broke into the unhappy peninsula, either to find its grave in it or to leave it again in quest of other dwelling places. But each inroad caused loss of life and devastation beyond description. The chieftain of one of these nations was Odoaker (§ 43). By the beginning of the sixth century the **East Goths** had fixed their abodes in Italy under their brilliant king Theodoric the Great. They were and remained Arians. In 555 their kingdom came to an end (§ 64).

52. (2) Most of the German nations left their old homes entirely and sought new ones in distant lands. It was different with several tribes which had their habitations near the Rhine and the North Sea. The **Alemanni**, living in what is now South Germany, extended their abodes across the Rhine without giving up their former districts.

The **Franks**, who dwelt on the lower Rhine, — Cologne was one of their cities, — pushed into Belgium where there was

already a strong German population. They conquered a remnant of the Roman power in northern Gaul, annexed Burgundy and the whole country of the Alemanni, and eventually drove the West Goths out of southern Gaul. Their kingdom thus included nearly all of present France and a considerable part of Germany. From pagans they became Catholics (§ 55). Providence had assigned a grand mission to the Frankish nation (§§ 69 ff.).

The **Saxons** on the south shore of the North Sea, and the **Angles** and **Jutes** on the Danish peninsula, did not give up their homes. But large multitudes of them crossed over to Britain, dislodged in long struggles the Celtic inhabitants, and changed the greater part of the island into an Anglo-Saxon country.

53. Non-Teutonic Migrations. — After dislodging the East Goths, the **Huns** (§ 51), a savage brood of genuine Mongolian hordes, roamed for some time in the countries north of the Danube. Under their fierce leader Attila, who called himself the "Scourge of God," they invaded northern Gaul with an innumerable host of forced allies. Frightful were their devastations. But the Western Teutons united with the Romans against them. At **Châlons** the Huns were completely defeated, A.D. **451**. This battle is one of the most important in history, because it saved Christianity and civilization from being exterminated by Asiatic heathenism and barbarity. In 452 Attila turned against Italy with the intention of reducing Rome. The pope, St. Leo the Great, met him with no other power than his dignity; and the terrible king, overawed by the pontiff's appearance and words, withdrew to the lands on the middle Danube. Soon the Huns returned into Asia.

The regions north of the Danube, which had been evacuated by the Germans, were now occupied by the **Slavs** as far as the Elbe River. The formation of the later Slav kingdoms of Poland and Bohemia was thus prepared. Other Slavs found their way across the Danube, where there are now the Serbians, Croatians, Bosnians, Slavonians. The

Bulgarians, a race chiefly Turanian but with a Slav language, repeatedly threatened the capital of the Eastern empire, Constantinople.

54. The New Kingdoms. — The Teutons settled amongst the old Roman population, which, in most countries, had to give up one third of their landed estates. This loss was probably not felt so much by the greatly thinned numbers of inhabitants (§ 31). The Teutons became the ruling class, consisting of large and small landowners. They were not evenly distributed. But in the countries near the left bank of the Rhine the population was practically Teutonic. The Teuton king ruled over both parts of the inhabitants. The Romans saw in him a representative of the emperor, and the king was careful to keep up this fiction. Clovis, king of the Franks, for instance, procured an imperial decree proclaiming him "Patrician" of Gaul, and he made it a point to appear at stated occasions in Roman consular robes. Where unity of religion had been secured, mutual understanding and amalgamation, on which the welfare and future of the kingdom depended, was greatly accelerated.

Thus arose the new kingdoms. Their political fabric was the work of the Teutons. It was very rude. Centuries passed before it rose to a stage less barbaric. And yet no other element has since been added in any way so important to the world's development. *In all centuries since, human progress has come almost wholly from Western Romano-Teutonic Europe and from its offshoots in other continents.*

But all this did not take place without immense losses in other respects, which it required a long time to remedy.

C. Christianity and Civilization

55. Losses to Civilization. — The invasions were the most terrible catastrophe that ever befell a great civilized society. Many of the most flourishing cities were destroyed or had

suffered by repeated sackings. The treasures of art, including libraries, were dispersed or lost. Besides the direct loss of life caused by battles and otherwise, agriculture and the trade in foodstuffs became deranged. This further decimated the dwindling population. Whole country districts were deserted, to be inhabited only by wolves and bears.

The new ruling class brought with them their dense ignorance. Illiteracy was beyond doubt the rule with the new lords. The old schools perished for lack of material support. There was no tranquil leisure and therefore no study. The traditions of refined and literary life were fast disappearing. Those who outlived the ravages, by and by sank to a lower level. Life became meaner, poorer, harder. Civilized tastes and arts began to fall into oblivion. The Franks and Goths were learning the rudiments of civilized life; but the Latins were losing all but the rudiments — and they seemed to lose faster than the Teutons were gaining.

With the decay of literary activity the unity of Latin, the universal language, ceased. In the mouth of the people it was more and more corrupted and mixed with Teutonic elements. In the vast Roman Empire there had always been provincial differences in the language. But until the coming of the Teutons a man who spoke the common language of Gaul or Spain could also understand classical Latin when he heard it. The arrival of the barbarians widened the gap between the spoken provincial and the written language. Thus the language of learning became "dead" for the common people, while provincial differences grew more pronounced. In the course of centuries the dialects changed into the beginnings of the later languages of the *Spaniards*, *Italians*, etc. Latin remained in use amongst the clergy, but at that particular period many even of these knew it rather imperfectly (§ 98, footnote). In the lands along the left bank of the Rhine and in Britain, the language of the invaders dislodged completely whatever there had been of Latin.

56. But Roman civilization was not uprooted entirely. — On the contrary, it slowly began to grow and develop into the later civilization of Christian Europe. The conquests were for

the most part made by *numbers too small* to change the character of the population, and unable to dislodge at one blow all the traditions of the former refined life. Since, moreover, the invaders had settled chiefly in the country, the *cities* and towns as far as they survived remained Roman and preserved some features of the old culture and the old handicrafts. They kept, too, in the south of Europe, their municipal institutions. Finally, the old population for centuries furnished the members of another ruling class, the bishops and the *clergy*. From them the Teutonic lords drew most of their confidential officers and secretaries. And by these advisers they were gradually persuaded to adopt many customs of the old civilization. In this way the Franks and other settlers in Gaul and northern Italy were civilized by the Romano-Celtic population of these countries. "*Gaul far more than Italy and Rome seemed called to be the protectress of ancient civilization. It had to its credit the glory of having for ages maintained a high standard of ancient culture for the benefit of mankind.*" (Grisar, *History*, Vol. III, § 455.) Through these different agencies much of the old civilization which at the time seemed ruined was sooner or later to be recovered by the Teutonic kingdoms — so that "nearly every achievement of the Greeks and Romans in thought, science, law, and the practical arts is now a part of our civilization."

57. But it was above all the Church that saved civilization and reared the new peoples of Europe. By the time that the German invaders began to pour into the Roman Empire, all its provinces were practically Christianized. There was everywhere a well-established hierarchy. Bishops watched over the spiritual welfare of the faithful without neglecting temporal interests. True, the settling of the rude barbarians among the Christians, the concomitant weakening of public order and safety, the loss of life and the decline of material as well as intellectual civilization had a deplorable effect on morals and

discipline. In Gaul, with which we are particularly concerned, the kings, though Catholic, often led almost pagan lives. The conversion of the newcomers proceeded slowly, nor must it be imagined that the newly converted Franks and Burgundians and their first descendants were at once, and without exception, exemplary Christians. All this reacted on the old population. Many of the clergy, some even among the hierarchy, sorely lacked the purity of morals and singleness of purpose required by their exalted vocation.

All this notwithstanding, the Church was the salt that kept the world from complete corruption, and preserved the means to rise again to a higher level of civilization. The Church always demanded a certain degree of education in her ministers and provided for some kind of schools. Even in the most troubled periods there were priests, monks, bishops, and lay persons of both sexes, who were more than ordinarily inspired with zeal for true virtue and righteousness in themselves and their fellow men. The Church protected the weak and stood for peace, education, industry, and right living. "She was the chief force that made life tolerable for myriads of men and women in those dark ages."[1] She also preserved much of the forms and habits of the Roman law and by her advice and example improved the rude methods of the new rulers. "Only to the strenuous exertions of Christians and the spiritual impulse maintained among mankind by the new religion do we owe it that these ages found any pleasure in the classics of antiquity and did not allow them to be irrevocably lost."

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[1] Although the ages now under consideration were in many respects truly dark, this book will not incorporate the term "Dark Ages" in its text. This catchword was originally coined by anti-Christian historians and carries with it the insinuation that the "darkness" is chiefly due to the influence of Christianity. — Uniformity, too, is lacking as to the date when the "Dark Ages" came to an end. Some extend them to the time of the "Reformation," when Luther brought "light" into the "darkness"; others give them five, others two centuries only.

58. *But no Christian institution exerted a more powerful influence for good than the papacy.* The popes ever kept their eye on the needs of the world at large. It was they that sent out the great missionaries to the new nations (§§ 41, 62). The most prominent pope of this period of storm and stress is no doubt St. Gregory the Great, who presided over the welfare of the Church, 590–604. He had the consolation of welcoming into the true fold the Arian nations of the West Goths and the Lombards, and he sent St. Augustine with his monks to convert the Anglo-Saxons from paganism.

About the same time lived the learned Cassiodorus (d. 570), Roman noble and monk, who exerted a lasting influence on the attitude of monasticism to learning (§ 59); Boethius the philosopher (d. 525), — for a long time trusted friend of Theodoric, the great king of the East Goths, — who laid the foundations of the Christian philosophy of the Middle Ages (§ 41); and the great Irishman Columbanus (d. 615), to be mentioned presently (§ 62).[1] Spain possessed its St. Isidore, bishop, who was, as his friend puts it, "granted to the country to save from the wreck the (literary) monuments of antiquity." His voluminous writings were of the greatest importance for the literary and scientific life of Europe.

D. Monasticism

59. Origin of Monasticism. — In her task of saving religion and morals and rescuing civilization in its hour of peril the Church was signally aided by an institution which, soon after the liberation of Christianity, had risen into prominence. In one form or another it had, however, existed from the times of the Redeemer Himself. This institution was monasticism. Men and women would entirely withdraw from the world and, living either as solitary hermits or in communities under a superior, devote themselves to the practice of piety and penance. The movement started in the Orient, where *St. Basil* was its

[1] See the excellent articles on "Christian Civilization in the Sixth Century," by Rev. E. F. Crowley, in *Ecclesiastical Review.*, Vol. 54, pp. 139 ff.

greatest promoter. But it spread rapidly in the West. The Teutonic invaders found monastic institutions, called *monasteries* or *convents*, nearly everywhere. Originally each house had its own "Rule," drawn up by the founder or some other prominent man. In the first half of the sixth century *St. Benedict* (d. 543), an Italian,[1] wrote his famous "Benedictine Rule," noted for practical wisdom and moderation. In the course of several centuries all the existing convents adopted it. Each Benedictine *Abbey* was ruled by an Abbot or Abbess. They had, however, no common superior, the unity of the Order being kept up solely by the observance of the same regulations. St. Benedict's chief foundation was the Abbey of Monte Cassino.

The venerable Benedictine Order still exists. In the course of time it has given to the Church 28 popes, over 200 cardinals, and about 6000 archbishops and bishops. The abbeys, however, are now united into "Congregations" and there is at the head of the whole Order a "Primate" in Rome.

The order of St. Basil is practically the only one to which all the numerous monastic institutions in the Orient belonged. It still exists, but most of its convents are separated from the Catholic Church.

60. The Inmates of the Convents lived a life of perpetual poverty, chastity, and obedience. Self-sanctification was their chief object and the source from which sprang all their achievements in the promotion of civilization and Christianity. Hence a great part of their time was given to exercises of piety and penance. They would settle in some uncultivated spot and by the work of their hands change it into well-tilled fields and gardens. By word and example they taught the dignity of manual labor, encouraged agriculture, and often showed the dwellers around better methods for working their fields. They also protected the poor against oppression by the rich and powerful, because commonly even the rude invaders respected the

[1] Special Report: St. Benedict. — T. N. Allies, *The Monastic Life*, Ch. IV, "The Blessing of St. Benedict," pp. 134–173.

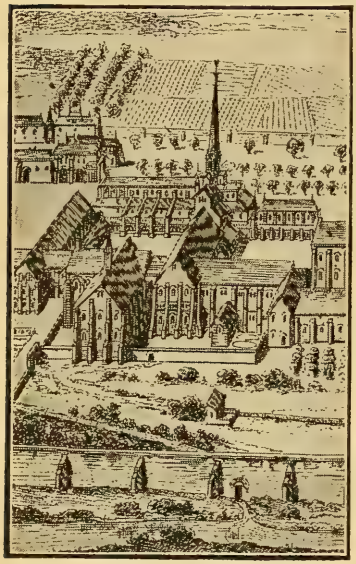
peaceful and helpless inhabitants of the cloister. Then, too, the monks lovingly copied books, both spiritual and profane. It is they that have preserved for us the treasures of the classical literature of Rome and Greece. For centuries the monasteries were the almshouses, inns, hospitals, and schools of Christendom.

Some of the Most Influential Medieval Monasteries.
Crosses mark monasteries; circles, cities.

The life of the "*nuns*" in the convents of women was similar. Exercises of piety, manual labor in their gardens, the instruction of girls in their schools, the copying of books, and needlework for the benefit of the poor and the service of the altar were

their occupations. Frequently they provided, by their own labor and by collecting alms, for the necessities of the missionaries in far-off countries.

The monks, for the most part, were laymen. Priestly ministrations were not the original and never the sole purpose of the monasticism of those days. Still, not only did the monks and nuns preach a most powerful sermon by their example, but the results of their activity as missionaries are almost incredible. Two instances have already been mentioned (§ 42), others will occur in the course of our narrative (§§ 76, 112).



Abbey of Citeaux.

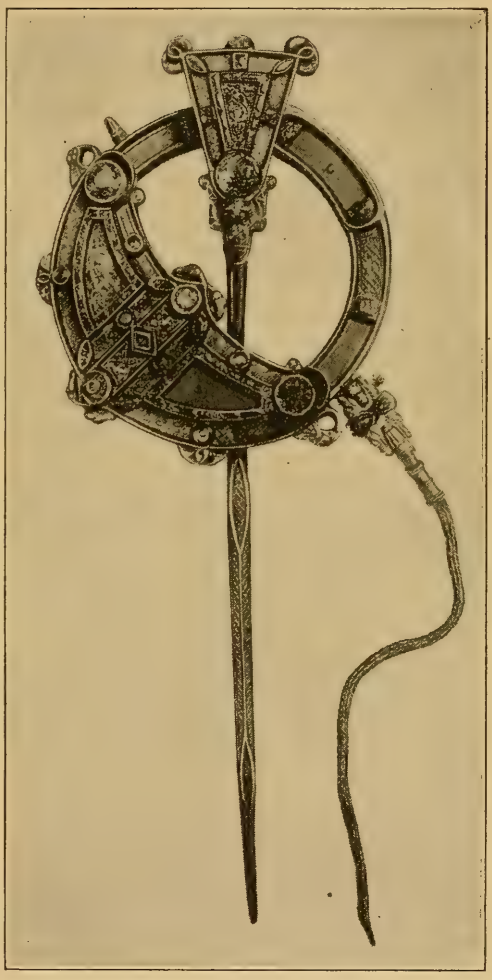
From a miniature in a twelfth century manuscript.

From the earliest period of religious life men and women[1] promiment for rank and wealth entered the convents to spend their lives in piety, humility, and penance. Cassiodorus, the scion of an ancient Roman family, who had held the highest positions under the East Gothic kings (§ 51), founded a large monastery and himself joined the number of its monks. It is chiefly due to him that the convents of the West became the refuge of learning. Occasionally, it is true, corruption found its way into these homes of sanctity. The first fervor might cool, the austerities prescribed by the founder might come to be considered too irksome, or the increasing riches might lead to the relaxation of discipline.

61. Religious Poverty is not pauperism. It consists essentially in this, that the individual depends upon the permission of his superior for the use of all things. Actual want or misery, often experienced by

[1] Allies, *Monastic Life*, Ch. VII, "Three Nuns of Odin's Race," pp. 254 ff.

the first members of monastic institutions, would in the long run rather have a detrimental effect upon the observance of religious discipline. In those times it was understood that the property of each institution should at least enable the members to support themselves frugally by their own labor. Many abbeys, however, grew very rich, chiefly because their labor had increased the value of their once barren lands. This did not constitute a real danger to discipline as long as the monastic regulations were well observed. It was different when men obtained the position of abbots who were not imbued with the right spirit. Such persons, mostly intruded by secular interference, administered the property for their own benefit and cared nothing for the enforcement of the rules. Other causes, too, often exerted a deteriorating influence on monastic life.



THE TARA BROOCH.

It was probably made shortly before the tenth century. It is ornamented all over with amber, glass, and enamel, and with the characteristic Irish filigree or interlaced work in metal. "Perhaps the finest specimen of ancient metal work remaining in any country." — JOYCE.

62. The Irish Monasteries. — During the inroads of the Teutons the European continent was like a storm-tossed sea. But the waves of destruction did not reach the Green Isle (§ 45). Her numerous convents fostered not only piety and penance, but learning, both religious and secular. Here with Holy Scripture

and the Church Fathers the ancient classics were read and studied. Men traveled from beyond the seas to this haven of sanctity and learning and found a hospitable reception. They returned more ardent in their faith and better equipped with whatever knowledge the times were able to offer. The Irish monks themselves emigrated in large numbers to other lands. For the love of God they wished to be far away from all that was dear to them. They settled chiefly in the regions which had suffered most from the invasions. Here they established themselves as hermits or founded convents, which soon were recruited from the surrounding population. Where it was desirable they preached to Christians and pagans, and their schools secured religious as well as secular education to the rising generation. Thus both piety and learning received a new impetus through their presence.

Foremost among these island Celts was *St. Columban*,[1] who with his disciples founded a number of convents in and near the Alps among the Franks, Burgundians, and Lombards. Kings and bishops listened to his advice. He fought paganism effectively among the Alemanni (§ 51) and laid the foundation of their final conversion. Many of the later bishops in the Frankish kingdom were St. Columban's disciples.

[1] Special Report. — Allies, *Monastic Life*, pp. 149 ff.

CHAPTER VII

FUSION OF TEUTON AND ROMAN

Roughly speaking, the two centuries from 400 to 600 brought the Teuton into the Roman world, and the next two centuries, from 600 to 800, fused the Teutonic and Roman elements, so as to prepare for new advance. In strict accuracy, the two periods overlapped somewhat.

The story of the fusion of the two groups of forces is the subject of this and the next two chapters. The present chapter treats a few important but *disconnected* events, as an introduction to the more connected story of the two following.

63. Codification of the Roman Law. — We have said that the Roman Empire continued in part of Eastern Europe and in Asia, with its capital at Constantinople. Separated now from the Latin part of Europe, the Empire became more and more Greek and Oriental (§ 43).

In the sixth century, after long decline, this Empire fell for a time to *Justinian the Great* (527–565). We remember him chiefly because he brought about *a codification of the Roman law.* In the course of centuries, that law had become an intolerable maze. Now a commission of able lawyers put the whole mass into a new form, marvelously compact, clear, and orderly. This is the famous *Justinian Code.* It represents the result of centuries of Roman lawmaking. It was embodied by the Church in her "Canon law," as far as she stood in need of some secular regulations to complement the spiritual. It was natural that when the new Teuton kingdoms began to codify their own unwritten legal customs, the Justinian Code furnished the foundation. Without the knowledge of Roman law none, perhaps, of our modern codes can be fully understood, the most

independent being those of England and America. It is not without very serious shortcomings, however. It does not sufficiently recognize the value and dignity of labor. Moreover, it makes the emperor the sole source of all right, and thus tends to increase the power of the princes. The excesses of some in-

CHURCH OF ST. SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE.

Built by Justinian the Great upon the site of an earlier church of the same name by Constantine. By Sophia is not meant some Saint of this name, but Divine Wisdom, *sophia* being the Greek for wisdom. The whole interior is lined with costly many-colored marbles. The dome has a circumference of some 340 feet. (See § 277.) In 1453 the building became a Mohammedan mosque (§ 319). The slender towers, called Minarets, are Mohammedan additions.

dividual rulers of the Middle Ages are directly traceable to their unreserved adoption of Justinian's principles.

Justinian was not an efficient financial administrator. Taxes rose to an enormous height, without preventing the employment of questionable methods to fill the imperial treasury. Justinian's

absolute and arbitrary power was felt in his ecclesiastical policy also. The emperor meddled with purely dogmatical matters and much more in the Church's discipline. Pope Vigilius was for six years kept imprisoned in Constantinople.[1]

64. The Break-up of Italy. — Justinian's great generals, Belisarius and Narses, had destroyed the promising kingdom of the East Goths in Italy (§ 51). All Italy was again in full reality part of the Roman Empire. It was ruled by an "Exarch" or governor, who resided at Ravenna. Immediately after the great emperor's death, however, a new German people, the *Lombards*, swarmed into the peninsula and soon conquered most of it. Their kingdom was chiefly in the Po valley, which we still call Lombardy; but various Lombard "dukedoms" were scattered also in other parts.[2] The Empire retained the extreme South and two small districts in the center of the peninsula with the capitals of Ravenna and Rome. These territories were destined to play an important part in the history of Europe and the world.

Thus Italy, the middle land for which Roman and Teuton had struggled for centuries, was at last divided between them, and shattered into fragments in the process.

65. Men continued to think of the Roman Empire as the one legitimate universal government in the world, supreme over all local governments. We can see now that, except for slight survivals, the Empire had ceased in the West before the year 500. *But men of that day did not see it.* They could not believe that the dominion of the "Eternal City" was dead, — and therefore it did not altogether die (§ 54). For three hundred

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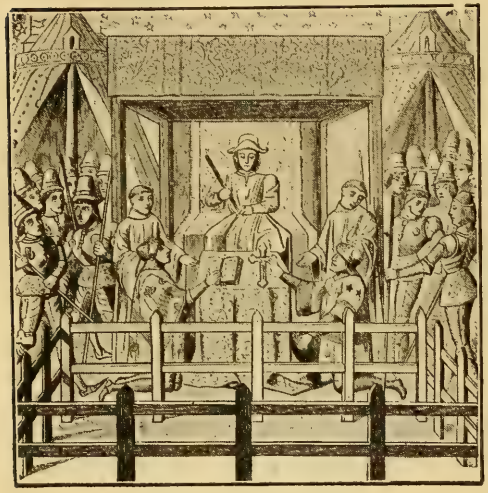
[1] Such meddling by the secular power with the duties and privileges of the Church is often called "Byzantinism," from the place where it was so frequently practiced; or "Caesaro-Papism," which signifies that Caesar, *i.e.*, the temporal ruler, wishes to act as pope at the same time.

[2] On this nation, its character, language, and influence see Casartelli, *Sketches in History*, pp. 26–51.

years it lived on, *in the minds of men*, until the coronation of Charlemagne made it again an external fact (§ 86).

66. Teutonic Law. — When the barbarians came into the empire their only law was unwritten custom. Much of it remained so, especially in Britain. Under Roman influence the conquerors soon put parts of their law into written codes (p. 63). But while codification had crystallized the Roman law, the new law of the nations of Europe remained flexible and capable of development.



JUDICIAL COMBAT.

Religious preparations: each party is making oath on Bible and cross to the justice of his cause. From a fifteenth-century manuscript.

Among the features in these new codes that justly surprise us were these:

(*a*) *The forms of trial.* There were two kinds.

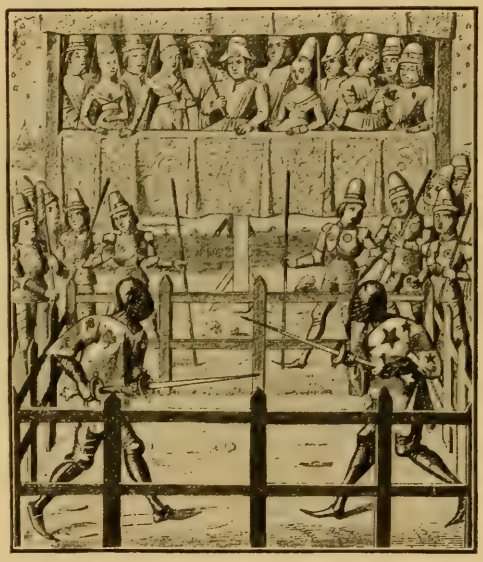
The accused and accuser were each backed by *compurgators*, — not witnesses, but persons who swore they believed that their man was telling the truth; the number of compurgators required depended upon the rank of all concerned and the crime committed.

Sometimes the trial was by *ordeal*. The ordeal was based on the erroneous assumption that God will rather work an evident miracle than allow an innocent man to be punished. To clear himself of a charge, the accused would, for instance, offer to plunge his arm into boiling water, or carry red-hot iron a certain distance, or walk over red-hot plowshares. If his flesh was found uninjured when examined some days later, he was declared not guilty. To prevent violence and fraud, the Church,

though never approving of the idea, surrounded these proceedings with impressive sacred ceremonies. It required several centuries to do away finally with the barbarous custom.[1]

The nobles preferred the ordeal of the single combat, supposing that God would assist the arms of the innocent party. A relic of this ordeal is the duel, which happily is becoming rarer in our times. The Church inflicts the severest ecclesiastical penalties on duelists.

(*b*) *Offenses were atoned for by money payments*, varying from a small amount for cutting off the first joint of the little finger to the **wergeld** (man-money) or payment for taking a man's life. The amount varied with the rank of the injured person.



JUDICIAL COMBAT.

A companion piece to the foregoing illustration.

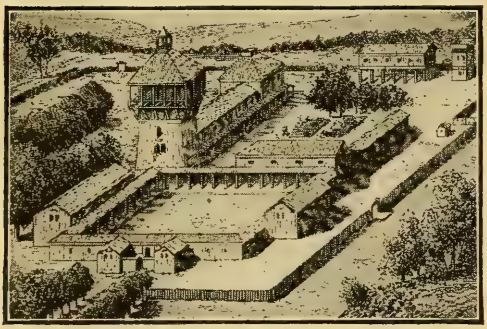
67. The conquest modified the political institutions of the conquerors in many ways. *Three changes* call for attention.

(*a*) *The Teutonic kings became more absolute.* In the conquests, they secured large shares of confiscated lands, so that they could reward their supporters and build up a strong personal following. Their authority grew by custom, since, in the confusion of the times, all sorts of matters were necessarily left to their decision.

[1] Such tests were sometimes made by deputy; hence our phrase, "to go through fire and water" for a friend. The byword, "he is in hot water," comes also from these trials; and so, too, the later test of witchcraft by throwing suspected old women into a pond, to sink or float. See Davis, Readings, II, Nos. 138, 139 (the latter on "ordeals").

Moreover, the Roman idea of absolute power in the head of the state, as expressed in the Justinian code (§ 63), had its influence on the views of the Teutonic rulers and subjects. The idea that the king was after all only the head of a real though rude democracy slowly began to give way to more autocratic sentiments.

At his accession, indeed, each king was still lifted upon a shield, just as in the old Teutonic ceremony; and the spear in his hand remained the symbol of royal power. But he also adopted many Roman forms. Coins represent the kings in the Roman toga and with the imperial diadem.



Seventh Century Villa.
A "restoration," from Parmentier's great work.

(*b*) *A new nobility of service appeared.* The king rewarded his most faithful and trusted followers with grants of lands, and gave them important powers of government, as rulers (counts and dukes).

(*c*) *The assemblies of freemen decreased in importance.* In the German forests the most important element in the government of a tribe had been these assemblies. They survived in form, in England as occasional "Folkmoots," and in the Frankish kingdom as "Mayfields," but, though not without influence, they now had a merely advisory capacity.

At the same time, while these assemblies *of the whole nation* lost their democratic elements, they kept much of their old character for various *local* units, as in the counties of the Teutonic kingdoms of England. Thus the Teutons did carry into the Roman world a new chance for democracy. *It is not correct to say that they gave us representative government; but they did give the world another chance*

to develop it. **In England, as we shall see, representative institutions grew out of these local assemblies.**

68. The Cities of the Roman Times had suffered more in the North than in the South. The Teutons disliked the narrow streets of towns. They lived in the country, giving their time to farming and hunting. Their establishments, rudely fortified, commonly produced everything they needed, and their free and unfree laborers supplied what little handicraft was desirable.

In the South, where the Teutonic elements were not strongly represented, much more of Roman city life and city organization went on in the half dilapidated towns. Sometimes colonies of Greeks were found in them, who were the chief merchants. Much more of refinement and literary taste had survived in these cities than in those of the North.

CHAPTER VIII

RISE OF THE FRANKS

69. Clovis and His Family. — We have seen (§ 51) how the Franks, a confederacy of German tribes living on the banks of the lower Rhine, extended their habitations into Gaul and united that entire country together with a wide territory on the

Repast in the Hall of a Frankish Noble.

After a tenth century manuscript.

right bank of the upper Rhine into one kingdom. This was chiefly the work of one man, King *Clovis* (Chlodwig, Ludwig, Louis, Aloysius), the founder of Frankish greatness. When at the age of fifteen years he entered upon this career of aggrandizement, he was still a pagan and a real barbarian, though not without some noble traits of character and a shrewd mind. He had inherited from his father a leaning toward Christianity. His wife Clotilda, a Burgundian princess, was a devout Catholic.

The decisive battle against the Alemanni, in A.D. 496, which tradition places at Zülpich, became the occasion of his conversion. In the crisis of the battle, Clovis vowed to serve the God of Clotilda, if he would gain the victory. His prayer being granted, the king and three thousand of his warriors were baptized.

The Baptism of the Frankish King was a Momentous Event. — By it that nation which was to play the most important part in the political history of the future entered into a union with the Church, the champion of true righteousness and civilization. It brought to Clovis the good will and confidence of the Catholic population of Gaul and the hearty support of the Church authorities, including the papacy. While the rule of Arian kings was hated, the Frankish kingdom enjoyed the blessings of perfect religious unity. Nor did Clovis neglect to reconcile the political feelings of the Celto-Roman population (§ 54).

A Frankish Warrior.

Clovis meant to rule as a Christian king. He placed the Celto-Roman population on the same footing as his Franks, and left the bishops undisturbed in the execution of their office. He ever preserved an unswerving devotion to the saintly Clotilda, whose example and encouragement he followed in the practice of a far-reaching charity towards the unfortunate, and great liberality towards ecclesiastical institutions. At the same time, however, acts of violence and cruel revenge and the charge of broken pledges disfigure the records of his political career.[1] The nation, like the rulers, did not at once become thoroughly Christianized. Only gradually did the Church succeed in taming its wild passions. Criminals and saints often lived under the same roof.

[1] See, on this point, Guggenberger, Vol. 1, § 113, note.

The sons of Clovis completed the subjugation of Burgundy and added to their realm Bavaria and Thuringia, two districts well beyond the borders of the ancient Roman world. The family of Clovis is known, from his grandfather Merowig, as *Merovingians*. The Frankish kingdom was repeatedly divided and reunited. The Franks themselves spread little south of the Loire; North and South Gaul remained rather distinct from each other in blood and language. But in spite of these divisions the unity of the Frankish rule was preserved by the co-operation of the kings in foreign relations, by the identity of law and custom in governing, and last but not least, by the bond of a common religion and hierarchy. In fact, historians agree that *union with the Church was the strongest prop of the Frankish kingdom.*

70. The Mayors of the Palace. — Many of the later Merovingian kings were weak and indolent, and allowed the real power to slip from them into the hands of the Mayors of the Palace. These officials were originally the chiefs of the royal household, but the very nature of their position and the incapacity of the kings enabled them to seize, one by one, all the powers of government. They finally became the actual rulers and even made their office hereditary. The last of the Merovingians, called the *Do-nothings*, were merely the nominal heads of the state. Once a year, however, they issued from their retirement, and with the rude pomp of their ancestors were driven on an ox-cart in stately procession to the popular assembly, the Mayfield (§ 67, *c*).

The greatest of the Mayors of the Palace was *Pippin of Heristal*, who succeeded in reuniting almost the whole Frankish kingdom under his sway, thereby securing the ascendancy of the Teutonic element. His son, *Charles Martel* (the Hammer) is more famous still. He firmly established his power throughout the entire realm and made the Frankish kingdom the most powerful state in Western Europe.

CHAPTER IX

THE MOHAMMEDAN PERIL

71. Mohammed. — About a century after Clovis built up the empire of the Franks, a mighty power arose in far-off Arabia — a region until then beyond the pale of history. Arabia is mainly a desert, with occasional small oases, and some strips of tillable soil near the Red Sea. The best tribes of the *Arabs* or *Saracens* [1] are related to the Jews and Assyrians (§ 4). Most of them had never been subject to any foreign power. Some noble traits in their character notwithstanding, they were given to a low kind of idolatry which was connected with hideous excesses. The few cities near the Red Sea, on the road between India and Europe, practiced arts and carried on commerce. The rest of the Arabs were wandering shepherds, — poor and ignorant, dwelling in black camel's hair tents, living from their sheep and by robbing their neighbors.

Mecca, the most important of the cities, was the birthplace of Mohammed, the man destined to make Arabia for centuries a world power. He is described as of a retiring disposition and religious inclinations and subject to epileptic fits. Until forty he led the life of an influential merchant, but withdrew every year for some time into the desert, where he devoted himself to pious meditations. On his business tours he had picked up bits of information concerning Christianity and Judaism. Finally

[1] The term *Saracen* is sometimes applied to any Mohammedan power, but strictly it belongs only to the Arabs. In North Africa, the Arabs mixed with the native *Mauritanians*, and the race became known as *Moors*. These were the Mohammedans who ruled Spain for eight hundred years. The *Turks*, a Turanian race, came into the Mohammedan world from Central Asia. (See §§ 49 and 236.)

he claimed to have had an apparition of the Archangel Gabriel, who, he said, announced to him that *he, Mohammed, was the great prophet foretold by Moses.* This was the beginning of the new religion, which he worked out further in the course of his life. For almost every phase and feature of it he claimed a special revelation.

Mohammedanism. In comparison with the confusion and degradation of the Arabic religions, Mohammed's system represented a partial progress. Its best elements he had gathered from Christian and Jewish sources. The chief article of his "creed" is that "there is One God, 'Allah,' and Mohammed is His Prophet." The service of Allah is *Islam*, and those that profess it call themselves *Moslem.* They deny the Blessed Trinity, and hold that Moses and Christ were minor prophets sent to prepare the world for the coming of Mohammed. Prayer five times a day, a pilgrimage to Mecca once during lifetime, fasting during the entire month Ramadan, and almsgiving are enjoined. And faithful Mohammedans rigidly submit to these laws. But strangely in contrast with this emphasis on good works is their "fatalism," the doctrine that nobody can change the fate once destined for him or for anything else. The true Moslem will go to a heaven of sensual pleasures, where each of them will be waited upon by at least 80,000 slaves. There is a terrible hell for the bad. Polygamy is allowed; the husband may divorce his wives for almost any reason, but a wife cannot leave her husband. The Prophet himself, after the death of his first wife, married several. A sure way to paradise is war against the "infidels" (non-Mohammedans); "the sword is the key to heaven." Islam permits revenge, and confines what might be called its charity to Moslems. Friday is the sacred day. Mohammed's teachings were collected, by his first successor, in a book called the *Koran*, the Mohammedan Bible. It is divided into 114 Suras, or chapters, without any system or connection. Its numerous contradictions are one of the causes of the rise of many sects in Mohammedanism.

Mohammed's closest intimates accepted him at once, but for the first twelve years he had few other converts. His townsfolk of Mecca jeered at his pretensions. The priests of the old religion roused the people against him and at last drove him out of the city.

72. Mohammedanism Becomes a Conquering Power. — The emigration of the Prophet from Mecca, in 622 A.D., is the **Hegira**, the point from which the Mohammedan world reckons time as does Christendom from the birth of Christ. Mohammed now made converts rapidly by means of the sword and soon captured Mecca, which became the sacred city of the faith. His fierce warriors were almost irresistible. He himself was unscrupulous in the selection of means, so long as they served his ends. By the time of his death he ruled over all Arabia as Prophet and king, supreme in all matters, civil, military, and religious. This character descended to his successors, the **Caliphs**, and has been claimed by the chief ruler of the Mohammedan world ever since.

At the head of united Arabia, the Caliphs began a career of conquest. They took Jerusalem, A.D. 638, and tore Palestine and Syria from the weak eastern empire. They destroyed the Persian kingdom, subjected Egypt, and by A.D. 700 their dominion extended from the Caucasus through Northern Africa to the Atlantic Ocean. Thus Europe was threatened from east and west.

The conquest of Christian territory did not mean that the entire population was at once forced to apostatize. Christians, however, who remained faithful to their religion had to pay an extra tribute and, as a matter of fact, were very frequently subjected to vexations and even cruel persecutions.

73. The Two Great Repulses. — In the East. — In 717 the Mohammedans appeared with a numerous force before Constantinople. The emperor, Leo III, called the Isaurian, was a thorough-going Byzantine, imbued with the spirit of meddling with matters of ecclesiastical doctrine and discipline, and without any respect for the consciences and pockets of his subjects. But he was an energetic and able general. After a siege of twelve months the Mohammedans were forced to retire, having suffered immense losses. *This formidable menace*

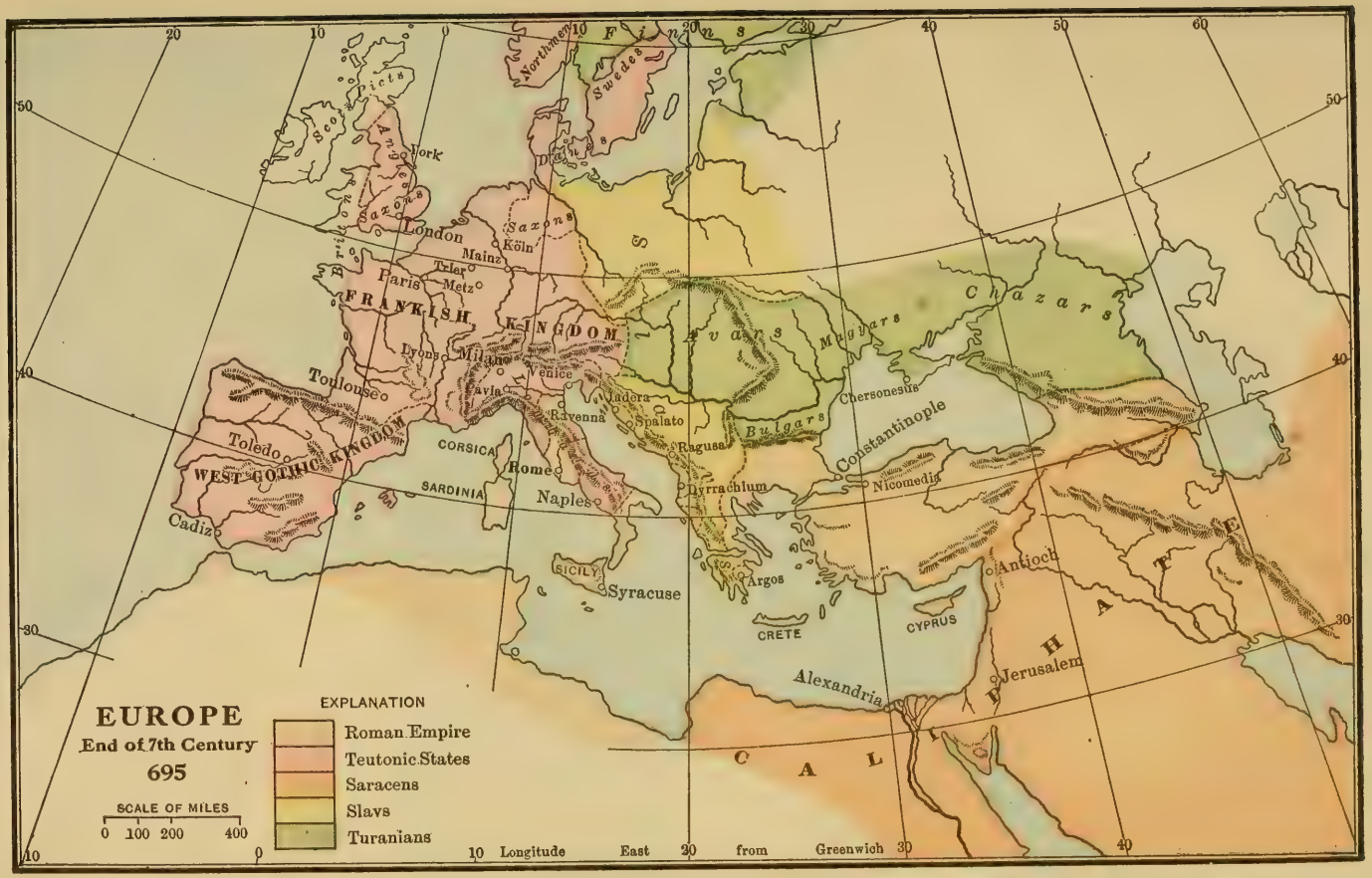
to Christianity and Europe wore itself away on the walls of the city of Constantine.

In the West. — At nearly the same time the Arabs entered Spain and were soon masters of the West-Gothic kingdom (§ 51), which at this critical moment was torn by domestic dissensions. Only a few remote fastnesses in the North of the peninsula remained in the hands of valiant Christian defenders. Then crossing the Pyrenees, the Mohammedan flood spread over Gaul, even to the Loire. Now indeed it seemed "that the Crescent was about to round to the full." But there was the powerful Frankish state under its able ruler, Charles Martel. The danger served to reunite it completely. The Duke of Aquitaine, who had long led a revolt against Frankish supremacy, now threw himself upon Charles' generosity and fled to him for aid. Under Charles' leadership the Christian army met the foe near *Tours*. From dawn to dark raged the fight. But at night the surviving Arabs stole in silent flight from their camp. Christianity and European civilization were again saved.

The repulses at Constantinople and Tours rank with Marathon, Salamis, and Châlons in the long struggle between Asia and Europe (§§ 16, 53). In point of high significance, however, the parallel with Châlons is the more complete. Tours and Constantinople, no less signally than Châlons, saved Christianity, the only true religion — the soul of the European civilization that was to be.

74. Mohammedanism after the Repulses. — For more than seven centuries Europe was safe. Mohammedanism soon split into two empires which were more or less hostile to each other. The Caliph of the East built, for his capital, Bagdad on the Tigris, which soon became one of the richest cities of the world. The Caliphate of the West consisted chiefly of the Spanish peninsula with Cordova as capital.

Mohammedan Civilization. — Both capitals became centers of art and literature. In sculpture the Mohammedans did not accomplish


EUROPE
End of 7th Century
695
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 400
EXPLANATION
Roman Empire
Teutonic States
Saracens
Slavs
Turanians
Longitude East from Greenwich
Scots
Picts
Northmen
Finns
Swedes
Danes
Angles
Saxons
York
London
Saxons
Köln
Mainz
Trier
Metz
Paris
FRANKISH KINGDOM
Britons
Milan
Venice
Pavia
Ravenna
Jadera
Spalato
Ragusa
Durrachium
Avars
Magyars
Chazars
Bulgars
Chersonesus
Constantinople
Nicomedia
Antioch
Jerusalem
Alexandria
CYPRUS
CRETE
Argos
Syracuse
SICILY
CORSICA
SARDINIA
Rome
Naples
Toulouse
Toledo
WEST GOTHIC KINGDOM
Cadiz
CALIPHATE

much, because the Koran strictly prohibits any picture or statue. Their ornamentation consists chiefly of *Arabesques*, *i.e.*, fancifully interlaced lines, curved and straight. But many of their buildings are imposing. Famous are the Alhambra of Granada, and the former mosque, now cathedral, of Cordova, a vast building of nineteen naves.

Their literature is less important. Its most noted production is a collection of fairy stories, the *Thousand and One Nights*. In spite of

MOSQUE OF OMAR.

A famous Mohammedan temple at Jerusalem on the site of Solomon's Temple. From a photograph.

the prohibition of the Koran they studied the Greek philosophers, which Christian Syrians had translated into Arabic. It is in the Arabic translation that the books of Aristotle first became known to Western Europe (See § 271 and *Ancient World*, § 316). But the original works of the Arabian philosophers are of little value. They transmitted to us our " Arabic " numbers and the science of Algebra, which they had received from India. The same country furnished to them a better system of medicine, which they improved by introducing the experi-

mental method. They studied and in some points improved the mathematical and astronomical works of the Greeks. Many of the technical terms referring to these sciences are Arabic.

Still, the genius of the Arabic nation is, on the whole, not creative. In later times political leadership fell to races still less capable of civilization, like the Turks (§ 236). Fatalism, slavery, and the degradation of woman by polygamy and its consequences were other obstacles to genuine progress. Mohammedan culture, despotic, uniform, stagnant, was sure to be outrun by the rude but progressive civilization of the Western World.

CHAPTER X

THE ALLIANCE OF THE PAPACY AND THE FRANKS

We have seen how, by the conversion of Clovis to the Catholic religion, the Franks entered into a close union with the Church. This union was to become an official alliance by the coronation of a Frankish king as Roman emperor. Several steps led up to this goal. The brilliant defense of Western Christianity against the forces of Islam may be considered as one such step. But two more were to follow, namely, the accession of a new line of kings and the establishment of the Papal States.

A. The New Frankish Dynasty

75. Death of Charles Martel. — Shortly after the victory at Tours the Do-nothing king died. Charles Martel did not venture to take the title of king, but neither did he place any Merovingian on the throne. With the consent of the nobles he divided the dignity of Mayor of the Palace between his two sons, Karlman and Pippin "the Short." But these, feeling less secure than their victorious father, again raised a Merovingian king, Childeric III, and ruled in his name. Karlman, however, soon retired into a monastery, as indeed many princes of that and later ages have done. *Pippin the Short* was thus left sole Mayor of the entire kingdom.

76. The Work of St. Boniface. — It was during the time of Charles Martel, Karlman, and Pippin, and with their hearty support, that St. Boniface,[1] the Anglo-Saxon monk, began and finished the *systematic* conversion of the eastern part of the Frankish kingdom, which was later on to develop into modern

[1] This name, which means benefactor, was given him by the pope. His Saxon name was Winfrid.

Germany. Through him these regions entered into the life and organism of the Catholic Church, a fact which naturally went far to promote the consolidation of the Frankish state.

Christianity had been planted in many localities of those provinces, notably in the districts near the Alps, by zealous Irishmen and Franks. But their efforts were more or less sporadic. There were no bishops to provide priests for vacant stations and combat corruption, ignorance, and heresies. Wide regions, moreover, had never heard the voice of the Gospel at all. St. Boniface under incredible hardships converted the numerous heathens. In constant intercourse with Rome by visits and letters, he established bishoprics with himself as archbishop. This made him the Apostle of Germany.[1] As Papal Delegate for all the countries north of the Alps he at last undertook, chiefly by a long series of Councils, a reformation of the Frankish Church in morals, discipline, and doctrine. Charles Martel and much more Karlman and Pippin gave him their powerful protection.

During the seventh century the intercourse between Rome and the Frankish kingdom was reduced to a minimum. St. Boniface now for nearly forty years referred everything of moment to Rome, conducted his affairs according to instructions from Rome, and emphasized in all his transactions with rulers and nobles the absolute necessity of keeping in close touch with the center of Christian unity. This brought about a complete change. The whole kingdom recognized most vividly the position and power of the Successor of St. Peter, the common Father of Christendom.

77. Accession of the Carolingians. — Pippin the Short meanwhile thought of setting aside the nominal king and assuming the royal dignity himself. Such a step would enable him to rule with greater power and efficiency. Nor was it beyond the competency of the nation to remove an unfit ruler. This was a strictly domestic affair; but an embassy crossed the Alps to

[1] By thus giving religious unity to the German tribes east of the Rhine and combining them into one ecclesiastical organization, St. Boniface laid the foundations of the later German kingdom, which was formed after Charlemagne. Protestant historians, too, call him the "Maker of Germany." — Special Report: St. Boniface. — T. W. Allies, *Monastic Life*, pp. 294 ff.

far-off Rome to lay the matter before the Holy Father. Pope Zachary answered, it was better that he should be king who was actually performing the king's duties. Thereupon Pippin the Short was unanimously chosen king by the Franks. St. Boniface, by order of the Pope, anointed the first king of the *Carolingian* line,[1] A.D. 752. Childeric, the last Merovingian king, ended his days in a monastery. "An important revolution of the greatest benefit for Church and State, one of the most momentous events in history, was thus brought about without the slightest disorder." [2]

B. Foundation of the Papal States

78. Rome and the Popes. — Constantine the Great besides giving liberty to the Church donated large possessions to the Apostolic See and other ecclesiastical institutions. His example was followed by others. Eventually the pope became the richest landowner in Italy, a fact which enabled him to be, during the stormy period of the barbarian invasions, the benefactor of the poor and distressed throughout the whole world. Various emperors, moreover, bestowed on the popes regular governmental powers, such as the administration of the existing poor laws. All this helped to make the pope in the course of time the most important personage in Italy, particularly in Rome — the more so because, after the foundation of Constantinople, no emperor ever made the ancient capital his permanent residence. "Old Rome" was despised by the emperors as an unimportant provincial town. Their energy was required for the defense of the eastern frontier and was often squandered in domestic revolutions and religious disputes. It was the popes

[1] This family is named not after its ancestor but after its greatest member, Charles the Great or Charlemagne (in Latin Carolus Magnus), who was Pippin's son. Sometimes, however, the family is styled "the Pippinides."

[2] Mann, *The Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 273.

that kept up order in the little district which surrounded it (§ 64). They even collected the taxes exacted by the greedy ruler on the Bosphorus.

The Roman as well as the Ravennese territory was suffering from the persistent attacks of the Lombards. This Teutonic nation, even after its conversion to Catholicity, retained much of its primitive ferocity. The conquest of a city spelled certain ruin for its inhabitants. The emperor confined himself to writing encouraging letters and intrusting the popes with the defense of the country by arms, or by diplomatic missions to the Lombard court. If the helpless territories had not been swallowed up in A.D. 750, it was exclusively due to the popes.

The more were the people drawn towards the actual ruler of their little "state." The district was looked upon as the property of St. Peter and his successors. The pope certainly would have violated no right, had he renounced an allegiance which had long been forfeited by powerless, careless, or incapable emperors.

79. Foundation of the Papal States. — About A.D. 750 the attacks of the Lombards were renewed with increased violence. Letter upon letter went to Constantinople, and as usual nothing came back but letters or messengers offering words of encouragement with neither money nor army. Under these circumstances, Pope Stephen III finally resolved to apply for aid to the new king of the Franks, Pippin the Short. He himself made the journey across the Alps and was received with the greatest honor by the nation and their monarch. In a solemn assembly king and nobles swore that they would not fight against the Lombards, hitherto their friends, to reconquer territory either for themselves or for the emperor whose claims had lapsed, but they were ready to vindicate with their swords the rights of the Church, St. Peter, and the Holy See.

The Franks crossed the Alps, and the Lombard king Aistulf gave up his conquests. Pippin might have kept these provinces

for himself. He was able to defend and take care of them. But such was not his intention. He "restored them to St. Peter and his successors, to be possessed by them forever." In 756 A.D. the district of Rome together with that of Ravenna became the **Papal States**. Pope Stephen III, now real sovereign, gave Pippin the title of *Patrician of the Romans*, which made him the secular protector of the new papal monarchy.

To the Byzantine ambassadors who urged him to make the conquered provinces over to the empire, Pippin gave the noble answer: "It is not to please men that I have so often engaged in battle. It is only for the love of Blessed Peter, and to obtain pardon for my sins. No amount of treasure can move me to take back what I have once offered to Blessed Peter" (Mann, Vol. I, Part II, p. 312).

80. Importance of the Papal States. — In Rome, as a matter of fact, the popes had ever been either persecuted and prisoners or the most prominent personages. Though at all times desirable, a full sovereignty was less needed for them as long as nearly the whole Church was confined to the Roman Empire. It would be different in the times to come. "By a special dispensation of Divine Providence," says Pope Pius IX, in 1871, "the civil sovereignty came to the Roman Pontiff. If he were subject to another monarch's rule, he could never, in performing the duties of his Apostolic office, keep himself free from the influence of his sovereign, who might even fall away from the faith or wage war with another power." No nation will turn with full confidence to a pope who has to reckon with the political and commercial views, plans, and interests of another nation's head, government, and political parties.

Had not their little principality made the popes independent of all other powers, the popes could never have freely rebuked potentates for immorality and oppression or acted as arbiters between warring parties. They could never have kept in view and effectively promoted missionary work in foreign countries. The Crusades would have been an impossibility. General councils, without an independent head, could

have commanded little respect, neither would their injunctions have been carried into execution. Decisions concerning conditions in other countries would have been viewed with suspicion, had the pope been the subject of a foreign and perhaps hostile power.

The Papal States are for the Church what the District of Columbia is for the United States. They are not the private property of the popes any more than the White House is the property of the President or the parochial residences the property of our parish priests.

The territorial independence of the papacy is a necessary element in the life of the Middle Ages. This evident fact cannot always be referred to expressly in this textbook. Let the student himself ask the question, whether, on certain occasions, the pope would have acted as he did had he been the real subject of, say, France, or Germany, or England.

81. Meaning of Temporal Sovereignty. Persons not well informed sometimes understand by the "temporal sovereignty" of the popes the peculiar position which the popes held in the Middle Ages as heads of the entire Christian commonwealth, in virtue of which they occasionally went so far as even to *depose emperors or kings. But this was no sovereignty at all.* By virtue of this position the popes never claimed any of the rights of kings or rulers in the realms concerned; they never, for instance, claimed that they could make purely commercial laws for the Christian countries, or that they, if the matter was purely temporal, could accept an appeal from a king's decision. It was simply the same power as that which they had over every other individual member in the Church, the right to see that the laws of God were obeyed, and to *inflict suitable punishment* in case of flagrant immorality and tyranny or other transgressions. Excommunication, for instance, was inflicted not only on Philip I of France for adultery, but also by St. Paul on a man of Corinth for a similar crime. The power to act thus was part of the universal care for the spiritual welfare of all Christians, rulers as well as subjects. (The power of the popes to depose unworthy rulers was not seriously questioned in the Middle Ages.) But all this was no temporal sovereignty.

Temporal sovereignty is the supreme legislative, judicial, and executive power in a state, whether held by a monarch or a republican magistrate; that is to say, the power to make laws which bind all the subjects, to decide cases referring to temporal matters without the interference of a higher authority, to levy and dispose of revenues for the maintenance of public order and the furthering of temporal welfare. This was the

power the popes held over the territories granted to them by Pippin the Short. And they held it not for its own sake but for the additional advantage which it confers: political independence. They were obliged in turn to give their territory a good administration. Since the object of this independence is the exercise of the highest and most necessary office in the Church, *it is a sacred possession, and its violation is sacrilegious.*[1]

[1] For Further Reading. — Davis' *Readings*, Vol. II, No. 144, 145; Thos. W. Allies, *Peter's Rock in Mohammed's Flood*, Ch. viii, pp. 420 ff.

CHAPTER XI

CHARLEMAGNE

A. Charlemagne and His Wars

82. Charlemagne the Man. — In 768 Pippin, king of the Franks, was succeeded by his son Karl. This prince is known in history as Charlemagne.[1] No doubt he was one of the most remarkable men that ever lived, and his work has profoundly influenced all later history. His friend and secretary Einhard (Eginhard) describes him as a full-blooded German, with yellow hair, fair skin, and large, keen, blue eyes. He was simple in habits, temperate in eating and more so in drinking. He usually wore the ordinary dress of the Frankish noble, with a sword at his side and a blue cloak flung over his shoulders. But he was also a lover of Roman culture, and spared no efforts to preserve and extend it among his people.

Seal of Charlemagne

This is the nearest approach to a likeness of the greatest of the Franks. The inscription, much abbreviated, is XPE PROTEGE CAROLUM REGE(M) FRANCR(FRANCORUM) *Christ, protect Charles the king of the Franks.* The cross stands for an X; see legend of illustration in § 20.

He handled Latin as readily as his Frankish tongue, and understood Greek when it was spoken. Later in life he learned to write, but was never able to do much more than sign his name. For

[1] See note on § 77. — The French form *Charlemagne* has won general acceptance among English writers. However, the student must not think of him as a Frenchman, or even as "king of France." At that time there was no France in our sense of the word. The following chapters will make this clear. Charlemagne was "King of the Franks."

the times, however, he was an educated man, and most willing to appreciate the learning of others. At table he liked to have some one read to him, and had a predilection for historical subjects. He gathered learned men around him from distant lands and delighted in their conversation. After his death, legend magnified and mystified his fame in all the countries that had been under his sway.

83. Character of Charlemagne's Wars. — The Frankish state was still in peril, from Mohammedanism on one side, and still more from barbarism on the other. His grandfather and father had checked the invasion. But under the vigorous new prince the Franks took the aggressive and rolled back the peril on both sides. His reign of nearly fifty years (768–814) was filled with ceaseless warfare, oftentimes two or more great campaigns to a season. At first glimpse, therefore, Charlemagne stands forth a warlike figure, like Caesar and Alexander. Like them he supported by arms the extension of the area of civilized life. But very unlike them, he conceived of no civilization except that imparted by Christianity. In fact, the protection and spread of Christianity he considered as his chief aim from the beginning of his long reign. He did not war for glory or gain as such. The greater part of his time and efforts was given to interior organization and government. Charles was not so much a fighter as a statesman and ruler. His wars had a twofold political result: (*a*) the enlargement of the Frankish State, (*b*) the establishment of tributary border states.

84. The Enlargement of the Realm. *Winning of the Saxon Lands.* — The heathen Saxons still held the wilderness between the Rhine and the Elbe, near the North Sea.[1] They were constantly harassing the Frankish dominions by devastating raids. Missionaries could never penetrate into the land. For Charles the war against them was a necessity. But it proved a desperate enterprise. Nine times, after they seemed subdued, the Saxons shook off his yoke, massacred the Frankish garrisons, and re-

[1] At present the name of Saxony is chiefly applied to other districts.

turned to the abominations of paganism with its human sacrifices.

Unfortunately Charles' methods were not above reproach. Contrary to the spirit of Christianity he forced the Saxons to be baptized. It is a blot on his name, too, that he executed after one rising forty-five hundred men (a number doubted by good historians). The rebels, however, had been condemned by their own chiefs. The genuine conversion of the Saxon leader *Widukind* meant a great step toward final submission.

But these wars were the most fruitful of the whole century. The Saxon country came to be covered with churches and monasteries and the schools inseparable from them. The Saxons became fervent Christians and proved loyal subjects to their stern conqueror. This conversion and the establishment of bishoprics in Saxony completed the work of St. Boniface for Germany. Christian civilization now extended to the Elbe. The country thus gained was destined to play an influential part in the formation of medieval Germany.

In other campaigns Charles thrust back the *Saracens* in Spain as far as the Ebro and established there the Spanish March.[1] The last *Lombard* king, Desiderius, quarreled with the pope. After fruitless negotiations Charles marched into Italy, confirmed Pippin's grant to the Apostolic See, conquered the kingdom of Lombardy, sent Desiderius to a monastery, and with the partial consent of the nation proclaimed himself king of the Lombards.[2] He also reduced Bavaria, which had never been a secure possession, deposed its duke and incorporated it into the Frankish state. With it went the countries between Bavaria and the northern end of the Adriatic Sea.

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[1] The defeat of Charlemagne's rear guard, on the return, by the wild tribesmen of the Pyrenees, in the pass of Roncesvalles, gave rise to the legend of the death of the hero Roland in battle with the Saracens. The details are fable, but the *Song of Roland* was the most famous poem of the early Middle Ages.

[2] Note the distinction: *Lombardy* first remained a separate kingdom though under the Frankish king; after an attempt at rebellion Lombardy like *Bavaria* became part of the kingdom of the Franks, with no separate government.

Thus all the surviving Germanic peoples on the continent of Europe, Lombards, Burgundians, Bavarians, Alemannians, Saxons, Frisians, Franks, and part of the Visigoths were united in one Christian state. The population, except in the Northeast, was overwhelmingly Roman, notably Celto-Roman, while the rule was in Teutonic hands. This unity seems to have been the aim of Charlemagne.

It is worthy of notice that the small Teutonic states outside his realm, — in Denmark, Scandinavia, and England, — recognized in some vague terms an overlordship in the ruler of the continent.

85. The Tributary States. — Beyond the German territory there stretched away indefinitely the Slavs and Avars, who from time to time hurled themselves against the barriers of civilization, as in old Roman days. In the closing part of his reign, Charlemagne attacked barbarism in its own strongholds. These long wars were really *defensive* in character. Gradually the first line of the people beyond the Elbe and Danube (including modern Bohemia and Moravia) was reduced to tributary kingdoms. *They were intended to serve as buffers against their untamed brethren farther east.*

But the event which more than anything else has given to Charlemagne his place in history is the revival of the Roman Empire in the West.

B. The Revival of the Roman Empire in the West

86. Possibility of the Revival. — In the West of Europe the idea of an emperor was not forgotten (§§ 43, 54, 65). The nations, Teutonic as well as Roman, desired to see an emperor rise again who would combine imperial power with an imperial title, who would, according to the notion cherished since Constantine, be *a defender of the Church, as protector of right and justice* (§ 40). There was now a ruler who lacked none of all the requisites but the title. Some exchange of thought on this subject had evidently taken place between the pope and Charlemagne, at least in some general way. A renewal of this sacred

dignity was of advantage to both. The magic of the name would enormously increase the king's authority over the many nationalities of his realm, and the pope would gain a greater claim to the active assistance of the Frankish monarch. The only one who, according to the spirit of the time, could take the initiative and act as the spokesman, of the nations, was the pope. An emperor sanctioned and crowned by the Head of all Christendom would meet with a general and unbounded enthusiasm.

87. Coronation of Charlemagne. — In A.D. 799 a band of Roman nobles, probably relying on the support of a Lombard and Byzantine faction in Italy, attacked Pope St. Leo III in a procession, and only with great difficulty could he save himself by flight. Like Stephen III he went in person across the Alps, and obtained from the king the promise of his assistance. The following year saw Charlemagne in Rome, where he took vigorous measures for the future safety of the Holy Father. Then, on Christmas, when Charles was kneeling in St. Peter's Church to hear Mass, the pope unexpectedly approached him, placed a golden crown upon his head, and greeted him with the words, "Long life and victory to Charles, the most pious Augustus, crowned of God, the great and peace-giving **Emperor of the Romans.**" The cry was repeated in the church and re-echoed by the crowds outside. Christmas Day of the year 800 is one of the most memorable dates in the history of Europe. It is the birthday of the **Holy Roman Empire.**

88. Relation of the Emperor to the Pope and to Other Rulers. — By his elevation the emperor gained neither any new territory nor the right of interfering in the interior affairs of any other state. Nor did he become the sovereign of the Papal States; on the contrary, it was one of the obligations of his office to guarantee these possessions to the incumbent of the Holy See. Only when requested by the pope was he allowed to exercise jurisdiction within them. Neither did his position make him a subject of the pope in temporal matters. But the

new dignity endowed him with a moral power which no feat of arms or successful conquest could have given him. Over other Christian princes, should there be any, the emperor would possess a primacy of honor, and the right of summoning them to his assistance in any enterprise undertaken for the welfare of the Church. Papacy and empire were to stand side by side, each supreme in its own sphere, the emperor being ever ready to support with physical force the spiritual government of the pope and to defend all the interests of the Church of God on earth.

The great act of A.D. 800 in St. Peter's Basilica was the beginning of that intimate union between Church and State, which in spite of many shortcomings must ever be considered as the nearest realization of the true ideal relation between the two which the world has ever known. The Papacy and the Holy Roman Empire were the two centers around which moved events of the greatest importance in European history.[1]

All these attributes of the imperial dignity were rather acknowledged instinctively by the contemporaries of Charlemagne than formally expressed. The very designation of "Holy Roman Empire" was coined later. The medieval emperor stood essentially higher than any other ruler; he was endowed with a sacred character; only one prince might rightfully call himself emperor, and he only after being crowned by the head of the Church in Rome. By his tact Charlemagne soon overcame the sensitiveness of the Byzantine emperors, and before long was addressed by them as "emperor and king."

C. Life in Charlemagne's Empire

89. Economic Conditions. — We must not think that the glory and prosperity of the old Empire had been restored with its name. To accomplish that was to be the work of centuries

[1] Charlemagne is said to be the first secular ruler who employed the Christian Era (*Ancient World*, § 591, note) when dating documents.

more. In 800 the West was ignorant and poor. There was barbarism in the most civilized society. Roads had fallen into neglect; brigands infested them; and there was little communication between one district and another. Money was little heard of. Trade hardly existed. Almost the only industry was agriculture.

Perhaps we can see this condition best by looking at the revenues of Charlemagne himself. Great and powerful as he was, he was always pinched for money. *There were no taxes,* as we understand the word, — partly because there was no money with which to pay them, and little produce. Payment was made *by service in person.* The common freemen paid by serving in the ranks of the army, the nobles by serving with their followers, and also by acting, without salary, as officers in the government. The treasury received some fines, and it was enriched somewhat by the " gifts " which were expected from the wealthy men of the realm; but its chief support came *from the produce of the royal farms* scattered through the kingdom.

The king and court constantly traveled from farm to farm to consume the produce upon the spot. Charlemagne took the most minute care that his farms should be well tilled, and that each one should pay him every egg and vegetable due. For the management of his estates he drew up regulations, from which we learn much about the conditions of the times. (Davis' *Readings,* II, No. 149; or Ogg's *Source Book,* No. 18.)

90. The Government. — The complex and efficient system of government of the *old* Roman Empire had vanished even more completely than the old roads and commerce and taxing system. The new government of Charlemagne's Empire was rude and simple, but suited to the conditions of the age.

Five features deserve attention, — the *counts;* the watching of the counts by the *missi dominici;* the *king's own marvelous activity;* the *capitularies;* and *Mayfields.*

Under the Merovingians, large fragments of the kingdom had

fallen under the rule of *dukes*, who became almost independent sovereigns and who usually passed on their authority to their sons. Pippin began to replace these *hereditary dukes* with *appointed counts*, more closely dependent upon the royal will. This practice was extended by Charlemagne.

Except on the frontier, no one count was given a large district; so these officers were numerous. On the frontiers, to watch the outside barbarians, the imperial officers were given large territories ("marks"), and were called *margraves*.[1] To counts and margraves the king intrusted all ordinary business of government for their districts. They maintained order, administered justice, levied troops, and in all ways represented the king to the people.

To keep the counts in order, Charlemagne introduced a new set of officers known as *missi dominici* ("king's messengers"). The empire was divided into districts, each containing the governments of several counts, and to each such district each year there was sent a pair of these commissioners, to examine the administration and to act, for the year, as the king's self, — overseeing the work of local counts, correcting injustice, holding popular assemblies, and reporting all to the king.[2]

This simple system worked wonderfully well in Charlemagne's lifetime, largely because of *his own marvelous activity*. Despite the terrible conditions of the roads, and the other hardships of travel in those times, the king was constantly on the move, journeying from end to end of his vast dominions and attending unweariedly to its wants. No commercial traveler of to-day travels more faithfully, and none dreams of meeting such hardships.

With the help of his advisers, the king drew up collections

[1] The title of count has nothing to do with counting. It is derived from a Latin word which means companion. This was the appellation of certain officials in the later Roman Empire. The German word for it is *Graf*, the ancient form of which appears in margrave (Markgraf).

[2] See instructions to the *missi*, in Robinson's *Readings*, I, 139–143.

of laws to suit the needs of his people. These collections are known as *capitularies*. (Davis' *Readings*, II, pp. 377 ff., gives extracts.)

To keep in closer touch with popular feeling in all parts of the kingdom, Charlemagne made use of the old Teutonic assemblies in fall and spring. All freemen *could* attend. Sometimes, especially when war was to be decided upon, this "Mayfield" gathering comprised the bulk of the men of the Frankish nation. At other times it was made up only of the great nobles and churchmen. (Cf. § 48.)

To these assemblies the capitularies were read; but the assembly was not itself a legislature. *Lawmaking was in the hands of the king.* At the most, the assemblies could only bring to bear upon him mildly the force of public opinion.

A modern French historian (Coulanges) pictures a Mayfield thus: "An immense multitude is gathered in a plain, under tents. It is divided into separate groups. The *chiefs* of these groups assemble about the king, to deliberate with him. Then each of them tells his own group what has been decided, perhaps consults them, but at any rate obtains their consent as easily as the king had obtained his; for these men are dependent upon him, just as he is on the king. . . . The king's will decided everything; the nobles only advised."

91. Education. — Attention has been called (§ 82) to Charlemagne's interest in learning. The difficulties in building up a system of education were almost beyond our comprehension. *There seemed no place to begin.* Not only the nobles, but even many of the better clergy were densely ignorant. The only tools to work with were poor.

Charlemagne did much. He secured more learned men, domestic and foreign. Anglo-Saxon, Irish, and Italian scholars received every kind of encouragement. In those days scholarship was almost exclusively represented by the clergy. Charles brought about the opening of schools in monasteries and at the seats of bishops; and he urged that these schools should not

only train the clergy, but that they should teach all children to read, even those of serfs. Some of the schools established or revived at this time, as at Tours and Orleans, acquired much fame. Charlemagne also established a famous "School of the Palace" for the young nobles of the court at Aachen; and the scholar *Alcuin* was induced to come from England to direct it. The emperor himself, when time permitted, studied at the tasks of the boys.

92. The Place of Charlemagne in History. — Charlemagne restored order to Europe, at least for his lifetime. It is true he was ahead of his age; and, after his death, his great design in many respects broke to pieces. But the imperial idea to which he had given new life and new meaning was to be for ages the inspiration of the best minds as they strove against the forces of anarchy in behalf of order, peace, and progress. It is true, too, that he built upon the work of his father and grandfather. But he towers above them, and above all other men for centuries, easily the greatest figure of a thousand years.

He stands for five great movements. He expanded the area of Christianity and of civilization, created one great Romano-Teutonic state, revived as the outward form of this state the Roman Empire in the West, reorganized civil society, brought about a revival of learning, and in various ways assisted in securing for the papacy the independent position which it needs to develop its divine resources. Looking at this work as a whole, we may say he wrought wisely to combine the best elements into a new Christian civilization.

In his Empire the various streams of influence that we have traced in *Ancient History* were at last fused in one great current. [1]

Exercises on this *Summary of Ancient Times* are not given, because this part of the book is often covered by classes in Ancient history, and teachers may wish to pass over it rapidly.

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[1] See *Ancient History*, § 4.

THE MODERN WORLD

BOOK I

THE ERA OF RELIGIOUS UNITY

(Early Modern History)

PART I. FROM CHARLEMAGNE TO THE END OF THE CRUSADES

SECTION I. ORIGIN OF THE EUROPEAN STATES

CHAPTER I

THE WORLD ABOUT A.D. 800

93. The Great Powers of the Time. — The world was divided chiefly among four great powers, two Christian empires and two Mohammedan caliphates. (See map of "Great Powers.") The old historical countries of Western Asia, that is, the lands on the Euphrates and Tigris, Syria and Egypt, were now in the hands of the Mohammedan rulers, who extended their sway over the whole Northern coast of Africa. These vast provinces formed the Caliphate of *Bagdad*. The Caliphate of *Cordova* embraced the Spanish peninsula with the exception of the northern mountains and the Frankish county between the Ebro and the Pyrenees. The two great Christian states were the *Eastern Empire* and the *Empire of Charlemagne*.

The *Civilization* of the Mohammedan world has been referred to already (§ 74). In many of their countries the religious and literary life of the subjected Christians, though much disturbed, still went on for some centuries more.

94. The most civilized part of the world, both materially and intellectually, was the Eastern Empire. Here, in the cities around the Aegean Sea, there remained, practically untouched by the effects of the Migration of Nations, the old culture, the inheritance of centuries of refinement, elevated by the influence of

Christianity. Constantinople above all was the home of civilization. It was the most splendid city in the world. It possessed beautiful parks, and its well-paved streets were lighted by night. Its brilliant churches and imperial palaces were the marvel of the universe. Hospitals and orphan asylums took care of the poor. It was also the center of trade and manufacture. Its silks, jewelry, glazed pottery, weapons, and

Walls of Constantinople to-day. — From a photograph.

mosaics found their way into foreign lands, including the semi-cultured West. The population numbered about a million. Unfortunately the despotism of its rulers left little to the initiative of the citizens. It thus gradually lessened the interest which private citizens should take in the general welfare of the state, and diminished their ability to realize and meet common dangers. Worse than this, the constant interference of the emperors in Church affairs, even in matters of doctrine, and the fact that the appointment of all the bishops had been usurped by the secular authority which was often prompted by merely

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35
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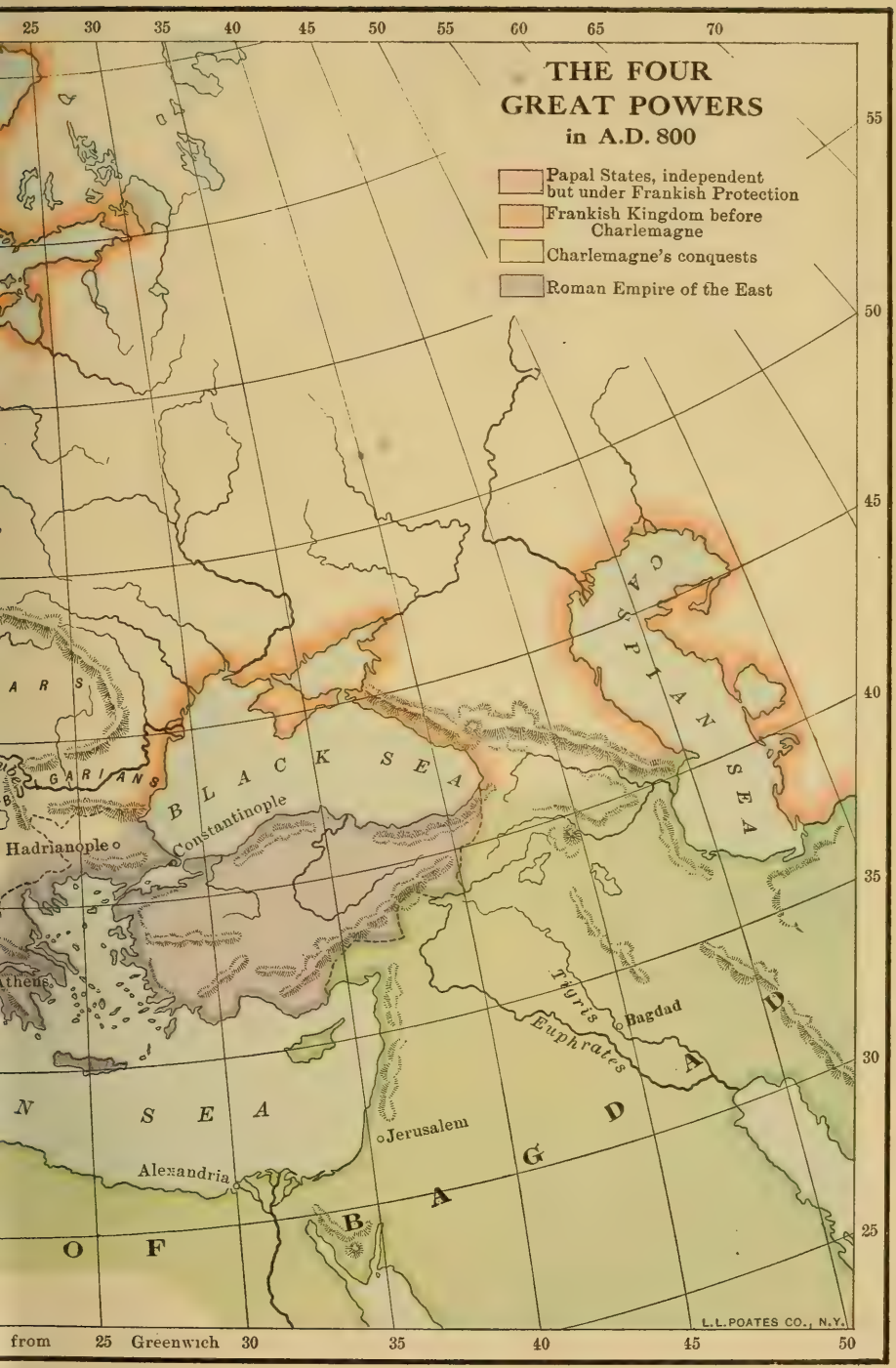
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
SCOTIA
Tara
IRELAND
BRITAIN
ANGLO-SAXONS
Whitby
DANES
NORTHMEN
FRISIANS
Elbe
London
Rhine
SAXONY
TRIBUTARY STATES
Canterbury
Aachen
Cologne
AUSTRASIA
Seine
Paris
Mainz
Bohemia
NEUSTRIA
MORAVIA
ALLEMANIA
AQUITAINE
BURGUNDY
Milan
Ravenna
CANTABRIA
EMIRATE OF CORDOVA
Ebro
Cordova
Rome
MEDITERRANEAN
CALIPHATE
For several centuries before A.D. 800
Ireland was called Scotia
SCALE OF MILES
100 50 0 100 200 300 400 500
10
5
0
5
10
Longitude
15
East


THE FOUR GREAT POWERS in A.D. 800
Papal States, independent but under Frankish Protection
Frankish Kingdom before Charlemagne
Charlemagne's conquests
Roman Empire of the East
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
Constantinople
Hadrianople
Bagdad
Euphrates
Tigris
Jerusalem
Alexandria
L.L.POATES CO., N.Y.
from Greenwich
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65
70

political reasons tended to reduce the Church, the mightiest factor in civilization, into slavish subjection and unproductive stagnancy.

95. The West. — We have, however, chiefly to deal with the Christian West, now almost entirely united in the Empire of Charlemagne. The West harbored the promise of the future of Europe. *Three forces had contributed towards shaping it for its great mission: Christianity, the ancient Roman Empire, the Teutonic invaders.* These forces had also affected the Eastern Empire, but not all in the same degree and fashion. The student will be able, now or in the course of the next several chapters, to point out the differences.

Christianity (1) restored the worship of the One True God "Who made heaven and earth" and with it gave back to mankind the greatest guarantee of true welfare, civilization included.

(2) It consequently inculcated the true notion of human life and liberty, thus rescuing the rights of slaves and children and women.

(3) It secured the future of the human race by reinstating and elevating matrimony.

(4) It furnished the correct notion of the dignity of the lowly and their occupations.

(5) It placed before the eyes of the world a spotless ideal of Virtue, the God-Man Jesus Christ and his immaculate mother Mary.

(6) It established a religion which satisfies the human intellect as well as the human heart and will.

(7) It was itself a *world-wide organization, strong enough to foster in its bosom all the rising institutions.*

The Roman Empire: —

(1) *The Population.* The bulk of the population during and after the Teutonic invasions remained ethnically much the same as before. In the West, which concerns us much more

than the East, it was chiefly the Romanized Celts of Gaul and northern Italy, that come into consideration.

This population contributed: —

a. The intellectual and material civilization of ancient Greece, together with the Oriental inheritance, but all this modified by the Roman genius.

b. A universal language with its literary treasures, which even after losing its hold on the common people was to remain the vehicle of educated thought for the next thousand years.

(2) *The Political Organization* contributed: —

a. The idea and machinery of centralized government.

b. Municipal institutions.

c. Roman law.

d. The idea of a ONE lasting secular authority as the secular center and head of the civilized world.

The Teutons contributed: —

a. Themselves.

b. A new sense of the value of the *individual* as opposed to that of the state. This idea was extended, rectified, and hallowed by Christianity.

c. *Loyalty to a lord*, as contrasted with loyalty to the state.

d. A new chance for democracy (§ 67).

e. A new impetus to the development of law. Teutonic law was crude and adapted to simple conditions. Yet it exercised a wholesome influence on the later codification of the Roman law which formed the basis of legislation in after centuries.

This *mingling* of forces has been felt ever since in European history. Oriental civilization quickly became uniform; society crystallized; development ceased (§§ 12, 13). European civilization began with diversity and freedom. But after some centuries, the Roman Empire had begun to take an Oriental uniformity (§ 32); society there, too, had crystallized (§§ 34–36), and progress apparently had ceased.

The *mingling* of the new elements contributed by the Teutons with the older elements, and both controlled by Christianity, has prevented later European society from becoming stagnant.

It was in consequence of this manifold inheritance, which fell to it in greater richness, that the West, though saving less of the actual civilization of former times, contained more possibility for growth than the East. Personal liberty and local enterprise were never stifled. Conditions developed which were to safeguard the Church against becoming the slave of the secular power. The fact that the greatest of religious forces, the papacy, had its seat in the West, no doubt was also of immense moment.

96. The Christian West Outside of Charlemagne's Empire.— The brightest spot in the northwest was *Ireland*. She continued in her flourishing state, producing saintly and learned men and women, and sending monks and missionaries to foreign lands. The *Slavs*, east and north of the civilized and Christian territory, had not as yet risen much above a primitive state of civilization. They were still in a period of political formation, constantly changing their abodes as well as their relation to the Eastern and Western empires. More backward, perhaps, were the Teutonic inhabitants of *Scandinavia*, who in later years were to exert a powerful influence upon nearly all the countries of Europe (§ 101 ff.).

CHAPTER II

DISRUPTION OF CHARLEMAGNE'S EMPIRE

97. Louis the Pious (814–840). — The great emperor died A.D. 814 and was succeeded by his son Louis. Louis had shown himself on many occasions an able general and administrator, so that Charles closed his eyes full of hope for the future of his vast empire. For years everything went on much the same way as under Charles, though the time of great conquests was past. Louis was a conscientious and pious man, kind, — too kind, — and too easily swayed by others. He soon divided his realm among his sons, trying no less than seven schemes, each followed by greater dissatisfaction. It came to wars between the sons and the father and between the sons themselves. The emperor was the victim of their jealousy. Once they forced him to abdicate and remain for some time in a monastery. He was allowed to resume his dignity, but death alone preserved him from a new humiliation.

His good will to act as protector of the Church nobody questioned. But he lacked the energy of his father. The empire suffered greatly from the domestic wars as well as from the inroads of the Northmen (§ 101 ff.) which did not meet with vigorous resistance and which increased in number and violence under the following reigns.

98. The Later Carolingians. — After Louis the Pious' death, his sons concluded *the Treaty of Verdun, A.D. 843*, which may be said to have begun the map of modern Europe. Lothair, the eldest, held the title of Emperor and was given Northern Italy with a strip of land from Italy to the North Sea. His two brothers received the parts east and west of Lothair's realm.

REALMS OF THE CAROLINGIAN KINGS AT THE DIVISION OF VERDUN.
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150 200 250
NORTH SEA
DENMARK
RUGEN
Elbe R.
Saxony
Frisia
KINGDOM OF LOTHARINGIA
KINGDOM OF CHARLES
Aachen
Köln (Cologne)
Thuringia
Franconia
Frankfort
Mainz
Rhine R.
Meuse R.
Lotharingia
Rouen
Seine R.
Rheims
Paris
Marne R.
Verdun
Britanny
Neustria (West Francia)
Orleans
Loire R.
Nantes
Aquitania
Garonne R.
Bordeaux
Gascony
Asturia
Navarre
Pyrenees
Spanish March
Ebro R.
Moors
Barcelona
Toulouse
Septimania
Narbonne
Marseilles
Rhone R.
Burgundia
Lyon
Geneva
Provincia
Alamannia (Suabia)
Constance
Regensburg (Ratisbon)
Danube R.
Bavaria
Inn R.
Sorabians (Sorbes)
Oder R.
Prague
Bohemia
Moravia
Slavs
Free Slavs
Pannonian Mark
Carinthia
Drave R.
Save R.
Croatia
Servia
BYZANTINE EMPIRE
Lombardy
Pavia
Milan
Venice
Genoa
Ravenna
Tuscany
Apennines
Tiber R.
PAPAL STATES
Rome
Beneventum
L.L. POATES, ENGR., N.Y.

The *eastern kingdom*, purely German, developed later into Germany. In the *western kingdom* the sparse Teutonic elements were being absorbed rapidly into the old Gallic (Celtic) popu-

CATHEDRAL OF AACHEN.

The Octagon in the center is the original Carolingian "Chapel." The other parts are of later date. (Compare picture in *Ancient World*, p. 648.)

lation, and its territory corresponded fairly well to the extent of the new French language then rising into use.[1] How this part came to be called France will be seen later (§ 188).

[1] A year before the Treaty of Verdun the two younger brothers were allied against Lothair. They mutually took the famous "Oath of Strass-

Lothair's unwieldy middle kingdom naturally proved the weakest of the three states. It lacked unity, racial as well as geographical. Lothair himself divided it among his three sons. Louis II followed him as emperor and ruler of (Northern) Italy; *Burgundy* became another kingdom; and the rest, north of Burgundy, went to Lothair II. This latter part retained Lothair's name, being called "*Lotharingia*" or *Lorraine*. It then embraced, as the map shows, much of the eastern part of present France, nearly all Belgium, all Holland, and much German territory west and northeast of the Rhine. This Lorraine soon became the bone of contention between its two neighbors, neither of whom had any more claim to it than the other. But by 925 it appears incorporated into the eastern kingdom.

The *imperial dignity* did not always pass from father to son. In some cases an emperor "crowned" his successor. But in the eyes of Christianity the solemn coronation by the pope was the true bestowal of the dignity. The later emperors were only too often lacking in real political and military power to achieve

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burg." This was worded in two languages: German for the people of the East; and "Roman," that is, the kind of Latin which was now becoming the language of the West. The "Roman" oath is the oldest written example of the French language. Charles, the king of the West Franks, swore in the language of his brother's German army, and Lewis, king of the East Franks swore in the West Franks' tongue, so that each army might know what was promised by the other party. The double oath begins: —

"*Pro Deo amur et pro christian poblo et nostro commun salva-*
"*In Godes minna ind in thes christianes folches ind unser bedhero gehalt-*
(In God's love and for this Christian people and our common salva-

ment dist di in avant in quant Deus savir," etc.
nissi fon thesemo dage frammordes so fram so mir God gewizci," etc.
tion, from this day forward, so far as God gives me knowledge)

This is the earliest record in the French tongue. The French is half way between Latin(Roman) and modern French. This shows why the name *Romance Languages* is given to modern French, — and also to Spanish and Italian, which grew up in a similar way. (See § 55.) (The oldest records of the German language go farther back.)

much for the protection of the Church. The last Carolingian who wore the Roman crown, Berengar, King of (Northern) Italy, died in 924. After him the dignity remained in abeyance until 962.

While thus the actual influence of the official protector of the Church relaxed and ceased, *political factions* raised their heads *in Rome*. By conspiring with dissatisfied elements in the peninsula, they several times intruded unfit persons into the papal chair (§ 201). *The Papal States* came to be ruled more or less according to the methods of Feudalism, that is, the popes gave parts of them to vassals. The cities generally, like those in the rest of Italy, had preserved a good deal of home rule from the Roman times. Both vassals and cities were eager to acquire, and even to arrogate, greater rights, and often acted with utter disregard of their sovereign. Some of the later emperors — not the Carolingians — exercised unlawful jurisdiction within the papal domains and highhandedly granted its provinces to their own Italian or foreign retainers. Hence it is that occasionally the popes lost control of their states in part or, in a few cases, almost entirely, and that strong popes made successful efforts to recover, even reconquer, their territory.[1]

99. During the sixty years after the Treaty of Verdun the lands of Charlemagne's Empire saw a large number of scandalous family wars. Brothers and cousins fought against one another. The ferocious Northmen (§ 101 ff.) devastated not only the coasts but even the cities far inland, and this sometimes with the connivance of the rulers. Once more all the dominions of the great emperor were united under Charles the Fat. After

[1] In some historical atlases the Papal States are not marked off for the time of the Carolingians and several hundred years after them. This is incorrect. Never were the Papal States an imperial district like Bavaria or Aquitaine (§ 88). Nor did the Roman Pontiffs ever allow their claims to lapse, even when large sections refused to acknowledge their sovereignty. And in some way or other, these provinces or cities always returned to their allegiance.

three years, in 887, they fell apart again never to be reunited. In Germany Charlemagne's line died out with Louis the Child, 911, in France with Louis the Sluggard, 987.

But bright spots are not completely absent in this somber picture. Louis III of the western kingdom won the enthusiasm of his people by warding off attacks of the Northmen. Arnulph, called the Carinthian, restored and kept up order in Germany. Near Louvain he inflicted (891) a lasting defeat upon the Northmen. He was crowned emperor by the pope, though he did not fully succeed in suppressing the tumultuous Roman factions.

100. The weakness of the crown during these troublous times had two results which proved disastrous for the future kingdoms:

(1) In nearly all the provinces of the empire there again rose families, sometimes related to the Carolingians, which arrogated to themselves the power of *dukes*, a power which Charlemagne had taken so much pains to abolish. (§ 90.) This power even passed from father to son in the same family.

(2) The royal dignity again became *elective*, and of course, the dukes had a decisive influence in the election of the king.

It was principally the bishops that kept each kingdom together and prevented the rise of as many independent states as there were dukes. They did this partly by example, partly by efficient administration of the regions intrusted to them as feudal lords, and partly by vigorous support of the king. Under Louis the Child, Archbishop Hatto of Mayence as administrator of the whole East-Frankish realm kept down lawlessness to a great extent and was heartily hated by the evildoers.

EXERCISE. — Draw the Division of Verdun, preferably upon "outline maps," as in the map near § 98.

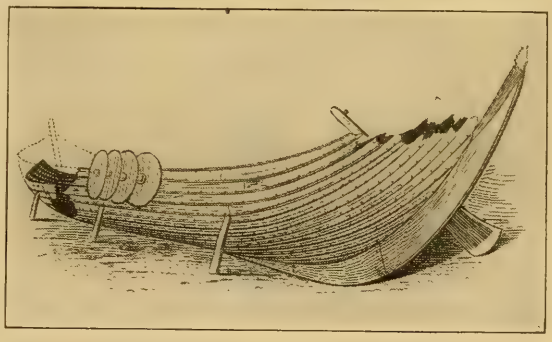
CHAPTER III

THE NATIONS OF THE NORTH AND THE EAST

We must now devote some attention to other nations which were destined to influence the future of Europe and themselves to come under the beneficial sway of Christian civilization. They rise into prominence in the times of Charlemagne's successors.

A. The Northmen

101. Character, Home, First Expeditions. — The Northmen or Norse were another branch of the Teutons and lived in what is now Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. The people of the British Isles called all of them *Danes*. So far they had taken no part in the Teutonic invasions. Their manners more or less resembled those of the other Germanic tribes before these tribes had settled on Roman ground. But they possessed less political unity. They were a ferocious and hardy race. One Northman would consider it disgraceful to run from three foemen. They clung tenaciously to the old Germanic gods (§ 47).[1]



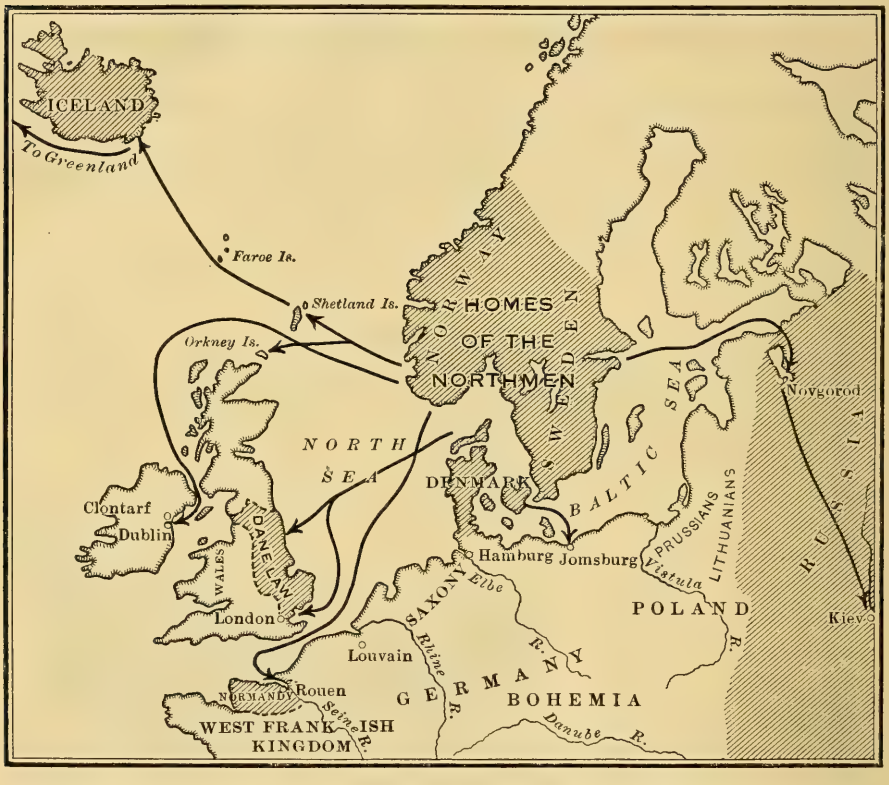
Remains of a Viking Ship.

Found buried in sand at Gökstad, Norway. It is of oak, unpainted; length over all, 79 feet 4 inches, from stem to stern.

Toward the close of the eighth century they took to the sea —

[1] See Guggenberger, Vol. I, §§ 261–272.

"set out upon the pathway of the swans" — and started a dreadful career of piracy and depredation. For more than a hundred years they ravaged every shore of Europe including Italy. The fleets of these *Vikings* (creekmen, sons of the



NORSE SETTLEMENTS.

fjords) sometimes counted hundreds of boats, sometimes only two or three.

The Norse ships were long, open boats, seventy-five feet by twelve or fifteen, carrying a single square sail, but driven for the most part by thirty or forty long oars. A boat bore perhaps eighty warriors; and each man was perfectly clad in ring mail and steel helmet, and armed with lance, knife, bow, and the terrible Danish ax. Daring, indeed, were the long voyages of the Northmen in these frail craft. They laughed at the fierce storms of the northern seas. "The blast,"

they sang, " aids our oars; the hurricane is our servant and drives us whither we wish to go."

Charlemagne maintained fleets to prevent pirate attacks; but in the quarrels of his weak successors the Norsemen found their opportunity. They drove their light vessels far up a river, into the heart of the land, and then, seizing horses, harried at will. They not only plundered the open country, but they sacked cities like Hamburg, Rouen, Paris, Nantes, Bordeaux, Tours, Cologne. Within one period of a few years, they ravaged *every town* in old Austrasia, and finally stabled their horses in the cathedral of Aachen, about the tomb of Charlemagne.

Ireland was invaded for the first time, in 795. For some decades the raids were confined to the small islands, many of which were inhabited by colonies of monks. But the " Danes " soon found their way inland. A defeat at Killarney merely deterred them for some years. As on the continent it was political disunion of the inhabitants that made these frightful devastations possible. The invasion of Britain will be treated at length in the next chapter.

Everywhere the chief object of their attacks was the churches and monasteries. There they found the most desirable booty — richly woven and splendidly decorated cloth, vessels of gold and silver, and sometimes treasures deposited for safe keeping. But these scornful worshipers of Thor and Wotan were also prompted by a blind hatred against " the white Christ." Priests and monks and nuns suffered the most cruel persecution. The marauders seem to have been instigated by the thousands of heathen Saxons who had sought refuge in the North from the sword of Charlemagne (§ 84).

102. Norse Settlements. — (1) So far the Northmen had been mere plunderers. But things changed in their Scandinavian homes. Three prominent chieftains consolidated the countless petty dominions into the kingdoms of *Denmark, Sweden, and Norway.* Discontented spirits now began to leave in *search of permanent abodes,* although marauding expeditions still continued.

Christianization of Scandinavia had been begun by St. Ansgar, Bishop of Hamburg, with the support of the Emperor

Louis the Pious, but the national conversion belongs to a later date. The Northmen who settled in other lands, too, were converted, so that by A.D. 1000 this whole race had entered the family of Christian nations and was participating in the blessings of genuine civilization.

(2) The Norse established themselves on the *Orkney, Shetland, and Faroe Islands.* On *Iceland* they founded a republic and, under the leadership of the Church, maintained a vigorous religious and literary life until the time of the Reformation. Another " Danish " republic arose on the western shore of Greenland. Thence the Norse seem to have made regular trips to the coast of America. In *Ireland*, too, they now meant to stay. Dublin became their principal seat. The opposition of the valiant but disunited Irish chiefs was unable to check them. It was only in 1014 that the Irish, now fairly well united under the brave Brian Boru, defeated them completely in the battle of Clontarf. The inroads stopped. The numerous " Danes " who remained in the island lived on peacefully among the natives. But the famous Irish schools (§ 62) never recovered their ancient renown.

The Northmen of Sweden had always turned toward the other shores of the Baltic, where they harassed the Slavic tribes. Called in by the latter, a powerful chieftain, *Ruric*, founded a principality at Novgorod, which was afterwards transferred to Kiew and thence to Moscow. Ruric's descendants ruled over the Slav population until 1598, when they were succeeded by the house of Romanow. This state came to be known as *Russia*, a name which is said to have been originally applied to the Scandinavians by the Turanian Finns. Rulers and people accepted Christianity from Constantinople and later on were drawn into the Greek Schism. (§§ 214, 235.)

There was besides, during the tenth and eleventh centuries, a constant stream of Swedish Northmen, called the Varangians, to Constantinople, where they formed a redoubtable unit in the imperial army, the famous Varangian Guards.

(3) *But their most important settlement was Normandy.* In 911 Charles the Simple, king of West-Frankland, stopped the

Norse raids in his country by planting some of the invaders on the northern coast to defend it, under their leader Rolf the Dane. Rolf was known also as *the Walker*, because, it was said, he was too gigantic for any horse to bear. He and his followers accepted Christianity and agreed to acknowledge Charles as overlord for their district, which henceforward was known under the title of *Dukedom of Normandy*.

A century later the descendants of these fierce warriors had become the foremost champions of Western civilization. With peculiar adaptability the "Normans," as they were now called, took on French customs and the French language. A long line of able dukes sternly maintained order; and this security quickly drew immigrants from the neighboring provinces. The mixture of Norse blood gave to the population a robust vigor which was noticeable for centuries. The rulers were patrons of learning and architecture. They favored a zealous and well-educated clergy and supported all efforts of ecclesiastical reform, notably the movement proceeding from the Abbey of Cluny (§ 150). The little territory was destined to have an influence upon the history of Europe quite out of proportion to its size.

Exercise. — Mark on an outline map of Europe the several places where the Northmen established permanent settlements.

B. The Slavs

103. Homes and Character of the Slavs. — By this time the Slavs had occupied the countries evacuated by the Teutons in the Migration of Nations. They were the eastern neighbors of the Frankish kingdom. After the breaking up of the latter it was the German kingdom which had to deal with them. But a wedge of Germans and Avars — the latter afterwards being replaced by the Hungarians — divided the Slavs into a northern and a southern branch. The Northern Slavs were by far the most numerous.

The Southern Slavs were Christianized early, partly from the West, partly from Constantinople. But at the time of Charlemagne the northern branch was still given to the old national paganism. They adored a god of thunder, Perun (Peruna); a god of hospitality and war, Radegast; and on an island in the Baltic there stood a four-headed statue of the god Swantewit. Human sacrifices were an ordinary occurrence. But there was no strict religious unity among the many tribes. The priests ruled over the people with almost absolute authority and always acted as judges. Slavic poetry shows a propensity to the melancholic. But the people were brave, and proud of their national liberty. Those living farther in the East received Christianity from Constantinople (§ 102, 2). Along the eastern boundary of the Frankish realm there were, next to the Danube, the *Moravians*, northwest of them the *Bohemians*, and farther north a number of various tribes reaching as far as the Baltic. Moravians and Bohemians are comprised under the name *Czechs*. The tribes east of these three sections were spoken of as the *Poles* and their country as *Poland*.

104. (1) **The Moravians.** — By his expedition against the Avars (§ 85) Charlemagne had secured the existence of Moravia. In 830 A.D. the first Moravians were baptized at the court of Louis the Pious, and soon Christianity was legally established. But the work of the German and Italian missionaries was not very fruitful, because they did not master the language sufficiently. Moravia's greatest ruler was Swatopluk (870–894), who made even Bohemia a part of his realm. At first in alliance with King Arnulph (§ 99), then in opposition to him, he was prompted both by religious and political motives to ask the emperor of Constantinople for missionaries who would know the Slavic tongue. **Sts. Cyrillus and Methodius** were sent, — two highly educated brothers, who had already learned the language before they knew of this mission. These Saints are considered the Apostles of the Slavs. Though they never went

to Bohemia or Poland, their influence greatly aided in the conversion of these two countries. They translated the Bible into Slavic. After St. Cyrillus is named the Slavic alphabet, which is still in use in Russia. With the permission of the pope they even said Mass in Slavic, following, however, the Roman usages and ceremonies. (In 1893 Pope Leo XIII again sanctioned this privilege for a number of Slavic dioceses.)

The political friction between Swatopluk and Arnulph was unfortunate for both Moravia and Germany. Arnulph invited the heathen Magyars (Hungarians) to an attack on Moravia. The destruction of Swatopluk's empire left Germany open to the frightful inroads of the Magyars, who harassed Germany until 955 A.D. Later on Moravia always appears as a dependency of the kingdom of Bohemia.

105. (2) The Bohemians. — In 845 King Louis the German persuaded fourteen Bohemian chieftains who visited him to receive baptism. Later, owing to the influence of St. Methodius, the Duke of Bohemia himself became a Christian. His wife, Ludmilla, was the soul of the movement in favor of the new religion. But the complete victory was not so easily won. Ludmilla's grandson, St. Wenceslaus, was murdered by his brother. He is one of the principal patrons of Bohemia. A fierce persecution followed his death. The arms of Emperor Otto the Great, however, secured the final and permanent ascendency of the true religion. Politically the country became, together with Moravia, a vassal state of Germany, but always held a highly privileged position. Its ruler was given the title of King, and in later times he was one of the seven "Electors" who had the right and duty of choosing the King of Germany. German immigration was eagerly invited in the first centuries, because it brought a higher civilization and served to people deserted districts, notably along the boundaries. Of all the rich Slav countries Bohemia is the richest in natural treasures.

106. (3) **The Northwestern Slavs,** *i.e.* those living east of the Elbe between Bohemia and the Baltic, were the most restless neighbors of the Franks. As soon as Saxony was made part of the empire, war against these tribes became a necessity. Victories over them were always followed by attempts at conversion. At one time the whole country seemed to be Christian, only to relapse again, for a long period, into paganism. German settlements were the only effective means to secure safety from these inveterate foes. Hence, when the lands were really Christian, they had become practically German. The old inhabitants disappeared among the new. (More about this in §§ 150, 200.) Cistercian and Premonstratensian monasteries were the chief Christianizing and civilizing factor in these countries.

107. (4) **Poland.** — Missionaries from Moravia, sent by St. Methodius, penetrated into the land and brought about a number of conversions. But there was no national Christianization before Duke Miescislaw. This prince, in 965, married the Bohemian princess Dombrowka, who made it a condition of her consent that the duke and his people adopt her own religion. The duke became sincerely Christian and soon forbade the practice of paganism. But the real founder and organizer of Poland as a Christian state was Boleslaus I Chrobry (the Glorious). During a reign of more than thirty years (992–1025) he strictly enforced Christian laws. In union with Emperor Otto III he effected the establishment of seven bishoprics. The foundation of monasteries helped to secure the peaceful conquest. Politically, too, his reign was a great success, though not without some reverses. He annexed several neighboring countries to Poland and was the first to assume the title of king. Since 962 Poland owed allegiance to Germany. Emperor St. Henry II (§ 206) now forced Boleslaus to give up Bohemia, which was restored to its hereditary duke, and to acknowledge himself in some vague terms the vassal of Germany. This dependence, more nominal than real, disappeared in the course

of the next century. Not all of Boleslaus' successors inherited his ability and firmness. There came a time when Poland broke up into a number of independent dukedoms, until other strong hands succeeded in uniting them again.

C. The Hungarians

108. The Magyars and Their Conversion. — The terrible defeat inflicted by Charlemagne upon the Avars left the country on both sides of the middle Danube practically without inhabitants. The Magyars or Hungarians, who had so far been roaming north of the Black Sea and whom King Arnulph had called to his assistance against Swatopluk (§ 104), now occupied the depopulated districts. From here they carried on, for sixty years, their devastating raids into western Europe. Contemporary chroniclers compare them with the Huns. They were small, active nomads, moving swiftly on scraggy ponies. The chief sufferer was Germany. They extended their raids as far as the Rhine, repeatedly entered Italy, and advancing through both Italy and Germany even harassed France. The German kings Henry I and Otto the Great dealt them terrific blows (933 and 955) which definitely put a stop to their devastating excursions. Soon their Christianization began. Duke Geysa was married to Sarolta, the daughter of a chieftain who had become Christian in Constantinople. Geysa now, exteriorly at least, accepted Christianity and promoted its preaching among his people. His son, St. Stephen, who married the sister of Emperor Henry II. the Saint, was for the Hungarians what Boleslaus Chrobry had been for Poland. Under him the domestic strifes of the numerous chieftains came to an end. The pope gave him the title of "Apostolic King," which the kings of Hungary have borne until our own days. Bishoprics and monasteries were established. A later reaction of the strong pagan party, frightful though it was, proved a failure.

Hungary, too, was at first a vassal state of Germany. But the pope's influence effectively assisted the endeavors of the Magyar kings for complete independence.

EXERCISE.— On each or several of §§ 104–108 may be written a Series of Events, as suggested in Questions to *Ancient World* under Marius and Sulla.

CHAPTER IV

BRITAIN BECOMES ENGLAND

A. Britain and Its First Invaders

109. Roman Britain. — The whole island of Great Britain, that is, England and Scotland, was inhabited by Celts. In the North, there were the Picts; in the South, the Britons, after whom the Romans named the island. The southern part became a Roman province (§ 22), but the Picts in the North, though often conquered, were never subdued.[1] The province of Britain was probably not so thoroughly Romanized as were the continental provinces, Gaul, for instance. Yet it had its network of Roman roads, the most famous of which is Watling Street (see map, § 115). Roman villas rose in the open country, Roman palaces, amphitheaters, and temples in the cities. We have no certain information as to when Christianity was first introduced among the Romanized Britons. It is sure, however, that many died for their faith in the persecution under Diocletian (§ 24). St. Alban is venerated as the first martyr of the British Isles. Evidently the Church of Britain was fully organized, because as early as 314, bishops of the Britons are mentioned.

110. Britain's Teutonic Invaders. — The permanent enemies of the Britons were the Picts of the North, in the present Scotland. As long as the Roman Empire stood firm, they were checked, more or less, by the Roman legions. But when (in 408) the city of Rome itself was threatened by the West Goths (§ 51), the Britons were told to shift for themselves, and the legions left the island. Native chieftains for some time drove off the Picts, but were soon embroiled in domestic wars among themselves. Meanwhile the unrest which had seized most of the

[1] See Lingard-Birt, *Roman Britain*, Ch. I. Special Report: Manners and Religion of the *Britons*.

Germanic tribes between the Danube and the Baltic took hold of the dwellers on the North Sea also. There lived the **Jutes** in the country still named after them; south of them the **Angles** and still farther south beyond the Elbe and far inland, the **Saxons.** (§ 52.) These now began to ravage the opposite shores. Soon the Britons invited these sea rovers to assist them against the Picts and promised them lands if they did so. As tradition has it, two brothers, *Hengist* and *Horsa,* were the first to land, in 449 A.D., at the head of these auxiliaries. But soon from friends they became enemies. Other bands arrived from beyond the North Sea. District after district was wrested from the disappointed inhabitants. Little Teutonic principalities were established, which soon consolidated into seven kingdoms, the so-called *Heptarchy: Kent* was founded by the Jutes; *Sussex, Essex,* and *Wessex* (South Saxons, East Saxons, West Saxons) by the Saxons; *East Anglia, Mercia,* and *Northumbria* by the Angles.[1]

Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms about 802.

111. Character of the Conquest. (1) ***It was very slow.***— At home the invaders had known of no large political units; hence they set out in small bands. The nature of the wooded country enabled the natives to make repeated stands.[2] It

[1] See Guggenberger, Vol. I, §§ 91–105.

[2] The legends of *King Arthur* and his *Knights of the Round Table* express the hopes and fears of the Celts in their resistance.

took the conquerors a century and a half to possess themselves of the larger eastern half of the ancient Roman dominions.

(2) ***It was very thorough.*** — The newcomers brought with them paganism and an unmitigated barbarity. Their advance meant absolute devastation. The Roman buildings, including the churches, sank in ashes. The inhabitants who did not escape were all or nearly all killed. Many of them fled across the Channel to the peninsula of Armorica, since then called Brittany or Little Britain. In Britain they receded farther and farther into the West and were at last confined to the peninsulas of Cornwall and Wales and the Northwest. The eastern part became a Teutonic land with a purely Teutonic language.

The worst effect of the invasions was the complete destruction of Christianity. — Woden and Thor (§ 47) were worshiped in the Britain of the Anglo-Saxons. The country needed a new conversion to the religion of Jesus Christ.

112. Conversion of the Anglo-Saxons. — In A.D. 597 Pope St. Gregory the Great sent the Benedictine monk St. Augustine [1] with forty companions to England to undertake the Christianization of the new occupants. The king of *Kent* had married Bertha, a Frankish princess, who now willingly lent her support to the missionaries. The king received baptism and allowed and encouraged the preaching of the Gospel in his kingdom. St. Augustine became the first Archbishop of Canterbury and "Primate" of all England. With the assistance of the Kentish king, St. Paulinus began his activity as apostle of *Northumbria* and established the See of the Archbishops of York. East Anglia was also gained for the faith. But an invasion of Northumbria by the united forces of Penda, the pagan king of Mercia, and the Celtic king Cadwallon, "a Christian but worse than a pagan," destroyed much of Paulinus' work. The Celts of the southern peninsulas had refused to coöperate with the Roman missionaries. Now those of the North came to the

[1] Special Report: St. Augustine. — T. W. Allies, *Monastic Life*, pp. 193 ff.

rescue. St. Aidan arrived from Iona (§ 42) and, assisted by King St. Oswald, recovered the lost ground and perfected the conversion of the whole kingdom.[1]

The other kingdoms were won partly by the zeal and influence of the Roman missionaries from the South, partly by the activity of the "Scots" from the North. The Council of Whitby (664) put an end to some differences in matters of discipline.

St. Martin's Church near Canterbury.

From a photograph. Parts of the building are very old, and may have belonged to a church of the Roman period. At all events, on this site was the first Christian church in Britain used by St. Augustine and his fellow missionaries. A tomb, said to be Queen Bertha's, is shown in the church.

St. Theodore, Papal Legate and Archbishop of Canterbury (668–690), completed the work of ecclesiastical organization. There was now, besides common customs and language, a new and strong bond of unity among the seven kingdoms, a common religion, and the beginnings of a common civilization. Warfare became less inhuman. The establishment of monasteries and

[1] Allies, *Monastic Life*, Ch. VI, "The Monks Make England," pp. 211 ff.

schools accompanied the coming of Christianity. There arose a more lively intercourse with the continent, and the country entered into the current of the intellectual and literary life of Europe.

113. Political Union. — In the course of Anglo-Saxon history several kings wielded an influence that extended beyond their own particular kingdom. They are called "Bretwaldas" (Broad-Wielders). But each Bretwalda's power rested on his own ability and success. Nor did any one of them ever extend his sway over *all* the other kingdoms. In the beginning of the ninth century King Egbert of Wessex rose to this position of Bretwalda. He first enlarged his own kingdom by adding the Celtic Cornwall. He then brought all the other Teutonic parts of the island to acknowledge his overlordship. England — for at that time this name came into use — was indeed still far from being one compact state. Still there existed about 830 A.D. at least some kind of political union of all the Teutonic countries. From Egbert on there has been a united England. Never were the several kingdoms to rise again as separate and independent political units. This progress of consolidation had been essentially facilitated by the invasions of the Northmen, which even from now on increased in violence.[1]

B. The Danish Invasions — Alfred the Great

114. The Norsemen, called Danes in England, invaded England as they did the continent, first for plunder, then for settlement and conquest. Their sackings and devastations were of the same character (§ 101). In 850 they made their first permanent settlement. Soon district after district came under their power. By 871 the Danes were masters of all England, the last king of Wessex having fallen in battle. This marked the beginnings of one of the most glorious epochs of England's history, the time of Alfred the Great.

[1] See Guggenberger, Vol. I, §§ 273, 274.

115. Alfred the Great, "England's Darling." He was the youngest brother of the fallen king and King Egbert's grandson. At first he concealed himself in marshes and fens. But he soon contrived to make himself formidable to the invaders. The Danes were signally defeated. By the treaty of Wedmore, 878, Guthrum, their king, consented to rule one part of England as a vassal of Alfred. A line running from London northwest through Mercia, mostly along Watling Street, a famous Roman road, divided the territories. Guthrum himself adopted Christianity and ever remained faithful to the promises he had made to Alfred, now his godfather. However, Alfred's overlordship over the "Danelagh" (Dane-Law) — the land of Danish rule — existed more in name than in reality. The Danelagh was practically an independent state.

Alfred's Activity. — Alfred found the country in a terrible condition. The cities with their churches lay in ruins. The monasteries, the chief support of literary education, were destroyed. There was ignorance beyond description, not only among the laity but even among the clergy, — in those days, the most educated class. "When I began to reign," wrote Alfred himself later, "I cannot remember one priest south of the Thames who could render his service-book (from the Latin in which it was written) into English." North of the Thames, the king explains, conditions were still worse.

To strengthen England against future danger, Alfred reorganized the army and reared many a strong fort at commanding positions. Eventually to meet the enemy on his own element he created a fleet and thereby became the "Founder of the English Navy." He rebuilt the wasted towns, restored churches and abbeys, codified the laws, reformed the government, and ardently encouraged the revival of learning, eagerly seeking out teachers at home and abroad. In the absence of proper textbooks in English for his new schools he himself laboriously translated four standard Latin works into English,

ENGLAND
AND
THE DANELAGH
about 900
SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80
English
Danish
Watling Street
SCOT
KINGDOM
Alclyd
Edinburgh
Jedburgh
STRATHCLYDE
Cumberland
MAN
Northumbria
YORK
Manchester
Tamworth
Lindesey
Peakland
Chester
Nottingham
Repton
Shrewsbury
Northfolk
East
Anglia
Southfolk
Crowland
Medeshampsted
Bedford
Ouse
Bridgenorth
Brecknock
Worcester
WESSEX
Dyfed
Gwent
Morganwg
Cirencester
ANDITS
Essex
Middlesex
LONDON
Wallingford
Excesdun
Reading
Surrey
CANTERBURY
Bristol
Wedmore
DEPENDENCIES
Kent
WESSEX
Andredesweald
Glastonbury
Salisbury
WINCHESTER
Sussex
EXETER
WEST WALES
L.L. POATES, N.Y.

with much comment of his own, — so adding to his other titles the well-deserved one of the "Father of English Prose."

Alfred's activity was many-sided. A great historian has written of him, —

"To the scholars he gathered round him he seemed the very type of a scholar, snatching every hour he could find to read or listen to books. The singers of the court found in him a brother singer, gathering the old songs of his people to teach them to his children . . . and solacing himself, in hours of depression, with the music of the Psalms. He passed from court and study to plan buildings and instruct craftsmen in goldwork, or even to teach falconers and dog-keepers their business. . . . Each hour of the day had its appointed task. . . . Scholar and soldier, artist and man of business, poet and saint, his character kept that perfect balance which charms us in no other Englishman save Shakspere. 'So long as I have lived,' said he as life was closing, 'I have striven to live worthily' : and again, 'I desire to leave to men who come after me a remembrance of me in good works.'" [1]

116. Alfred's successors, his son, grandson, and great-grandson, took the offensive against the Danes. Edward the Unconquered, Athelstan the Glorious, and Edmund the Doer of Deeds, contributed each his share to reconquer the Danelagh, without, however, altogether driving out the Danish inhabitants. Under Edgar the Peaceful the country rested undisturbed. He never had to unsheath his sword, though he was ever ready for war, often displayed his military strength, and every year sailed with a fleet of three hundred ships around the whole island to inspire his enemies with a wholesome fear. Even the kings of the Celtic tribes in the far West and North came to his court to pay him homage. Under the strong and just government of Alfred's successors the old differences between the seven Anglo-Saxon realms and their separate aspirations disappeared entirely. *England was One Kingdom.*

[1] For a longer account of Alfred's work see Lingard-Birt, pp. 20–28; or Guggenberger, Vol. I, §§ 279–284.

117. Summary. — We can now survey the results of the immigrations of the Northmen, a belated phase of the Migration of Nations. Among the effects of their invasions the following points stand out clearly: (1) They settled some uninhabited countries; (2) they brought a new element of population into others; (3) they founded several states by becoming the rulers of the existing population; (4) on the continent they accelerated the disruption of Charlemagne's empire; (5) in England they helped along the political unification of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms; (6) by increasing the number of destructive wars and the subsequent insecurity of life and property they hastened, in all the kingdoms of Teutonic origin, the formation of a new kind of government, called the FEUDAL SYSTEM, which was destined to dominate the history of these nations for the next centuries.

SPECIAL REPORTS. — 1. Ruric and the Norse kingdom in Russia. 2. The Varangians at Constantinople. 3. The Norse in Ireland. 4. Norse voyages to "Vinland the Good" in America. 5. Alfred the Great's life and work.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Guggenberger, or Lingard-Birt, as referred to in the notes. Also Wyatt-Davis. Material for *Special Reports* on religious topics will be found in Stone, *The Church in English History*, pp. 1–59. Let the students discuss in how far the coming of the Northmen was a blessing for Europe or the contrary.

SECTION II. THE POLITICAL SYSTEM (FEUDALISM) —THE CHURCH

CHAPTER V

FEUDALISM

A. The System Explained

118. Description. — The system of government in those days, Feudalism, was vastly different from ours. Instead of following up its gradual growth *we prefer to describe this remarkable system as it appeared when in its full and final shape.*

The administration and government of present-day states, republics as well as monarchies, is carried out by officials appointed or elected, who serve for a certain term of years and receive a fixed sum of money called salary for their services. They cannot consider their office or position their own, as they do their houses or gardens. Nor can they transmit their offices and the revenues connected with them to their sons as an inheritance.

In feudal times there was little money wherewith to pay salaries and other government expenses. The rulers drew their revenues not from taxes but from large landed estates (see § 89). Similarly the men, who in the king's name governed the various districts and provinces of the realm, did not receive salaries as our officials do, but enjoyed the revenues from certain estates. Their services, however, were not only administrative but military as well. When called upon they were obliged to gather their fighting men and serve in the king's army every year for a definite number of weeks. When the holder of such an office died, all his rights and duties, as if they were private property,

passed on to his eldest son. But the son must, as soon as possible, present himself before the king and "pay him homage," that is, profess himself the king's "man" (Latin, *homo*, hence the word homage) or *vassal*. The king, in a solemn ceremony, called *investiture*, surrendered to him the lands and rights which the deceased vassal had possessed, just as if they were now trans-

Carnarvon Castle, Wales. — A famous medieval fortress. The first Prince of Wales is said to have been born here.

ferred for the first time. The king could not refuse this except for very special reasons. Such land and possessions were called a *fief* (more rarely *feud*). The hereditary succession was regulated by law or contract and could not easily be changed. But if there was no son or other person that could legally inherit from a vassal, the fief "*escheated*" to the lord, who might or might not grant it to some one else.

A vassal could hand over part of his territory to a *subvassal*, who would then stand to him in the same relation as he himself stood to the king. Such *subinfeudation* was extremely common.

The subvassals again did the same. Thus a kingdom was broken up into an indefinite number of larger and smaller fiefs. Each prominent man, as a rule, was at the same time *lord* and vassal: lord toward his own vassals, and vassal toward his lord. To this it must be added that the rights and duties were in each case fixed by contract, although usage had induced a certain uniformity. The king or lord might give more of governmental rights to one vassal than to another.

A certain ceremonial attended the act of investiture. The vassal knelt before his lord, and placing his hands in or between his lord's pronounced the oath of fealty or homage. The lord then surrendered the fief to him, "*invested*" him with it, — by handing to him something that was representative of it, as a clod of earth or a bunch of ears of corn, or, especially in the case of the higher fiefs, a sword or a glove or a spear with a banner. Then followed the lord's promise of protection and the kiss of peace. The act of investiture was less solemn in the case of smaller fiefs.

119. Benefice; Commendation. — So far we have had in view the cases in which a vassal received a fief not yet in his or his father's possession. Such a fief was a *benefice*. It must be kept in mind, however, that originally there was very much land which did not in its possession depend on any lord, but was the owner's full property, — save for the rights of the king as sovereign head of the state. Such possessions, called *allods*, often were very extensive, and the owner naturally would divide them up among vassals. If an allod was small, the owner might find it more advantageous to be the vassal of some mighty lord than to be exposed to attacks of powerful enemies. He might then proceed to the act of *commendation*, that is, he surrendered his property to the lord and received it back from him as a fief, taking upon himself the usual obligations or such as were agreed upon. In the ages of insecurity commendation was constantly reducing the area of allodial land, so that the slogan, "no land

without a lord, no lord without land," pretty nearly expressed the actual condition.

120. Relation of Lord and Vassal. — The Lord's Position and Obligations. — The vassal was far from considering his position degrading. Those only were vassals who were not obliged to work with their hands. The lowest vassal had his estate worked by serfs and villeins. (See below, § 122.) Both lord and vassal belonged to *the nobility*. In fact they lived on terms of familiarity and mutual respect. Was the king himself, after all, more than a vassal of God? The lord was admired and almost worshiped by his people; and in return, however harsh himself, he permitted no one else to injure or insult one of his dependents. An honorable noble, indeed, lived always under a stern sense of obligation to all the people subject to him. A rough paternalism ruled in society.

A passage from Joinville's *Memoir of St. Louis* illustrates this better side of the feudal relation. Joinville was a great French noble of the thirteenth century, about to set out on a crusade with the king (§ 254). At Eastertide he summoned his vassals to his castle for a week of feasting and dancing in honor of his approaching departure. "And on the Friday I said to them: 'Sirs, I am going beyond sea and know not whether I shall ever return; so draw near to me. If I have ever done you any wrong, I will redress it to one after another, as is my practice with all who have anything to ask of me.' And I made amends to them, *according to the decisions of those dwelling on my lands;* and, *that I might not influence them*, I withdrew from their deliberations and carried out without dispute whatever they decided."

How sacred the lord considered his duty of assisting his vassals, is graphically pictured in the *Nibelungenlied*, the greatest German epic of the Middle Ages. King Gunther undergoes the utmost hardships and risks rather than deliver up one of his vassals to the vengeance of a personal enemy.

It goes without saying that all lords did not come up to this ideal. Many no doubt seriously abused their power. By doing so, however, they brought upon themselves a general contempt and hatred.

On the other hand, the vassal took pride in fighting with and for his lord and assisting at all the great functions, such as weddings, banquets, court proceedings, in the lord's residence.

121. The vassal's obligations, after the system had become more or less fixed, may be summed up chiefly under three heads:

(1) *The vassal was to present himself, at the call of his lord,*[1] *to serve in war,* — perhaps alone, or perhaps followed by an army of knights and men-at-arms, according to the size of his fief. He could be compelled to serve only a fixed time each year, commonly forty days, but for that time he was to maintain himself and his men.

A Baron's Court.
From a sixteenth century woodcut.

The short term of service made the feudal army of little use for distant expeditions; and indeed vassals were sometimes not under obligation to follow their lord out of the realm. The jealousies between the vassals, and the absence of discipline except that of a lord over his immediate followers, made the feudal array an unwieldy instrument for offensive warfare.

(2) *The vassal was bound to serve also in the lord's "court,"* usually at three periods each year. The court had two distinct functions. (1) As a judicial body, it gave judgment in legal disputes between vassals; and (2) as a council, it advised the lord in all important matters.

A vassal, accused even by his lord, could be condemned only by this judgment of his peers (Latin *pares*), or equals. The lord was only the presiding officer, not the judge. The second office of the court was even more important: the lord could not count upon support in any serious undertaking unless he first secured

[1] *Pennsylvania Reprints*, IV, No. 3, gives forms of summons.

the approval of his council. In feudal language, the council "advised and consented." This expression, through English practice, has come down into our Constitution: our President is empowered to do certain things "with the advice and consent" of the Senate.

(3) *The vassal* did not pay the lord "taxes," in the usual sense of that word, but on certain special occasions he *did have to make four kinds of financial contributions.* (1) Upon receiving a fief, either as a gift or as an inheritance, he paid the lord a sum of money.[1] It was called a *relief,* and commonly it amounted to a year's revenue. (2) If the vassal wished to sell his fief, or to sublet part of it, he was obliged to pay for the lord's consent. (3) Upon other occasions he made payments known as *aids.* The three most common purposes were *to ransom the lord,* if a prisoner, and to help meet the expense of *knighting the lord's eldest son* and of *the marriage of his eldest daughter.* (4) Similar to such payments, but more oppressive, was the obligation *to entertain the lord and all his following* upon a visit. Frequently, however, it was set forth in the contract how often the lord might call and how he was to be treated.

The lord had other claims upon the fief, which under certain circumstances might produce revenue. (1) He assumed the *guardianship of a minor heir,* and took to himself the revenues of the fief at such times, on the ground that there was no holder to render the service for which it had been granted. (2) He claimed the right *to dispose of a female ward in marriage,* — so as to secure for her a husband who should be a satisfactory vassal, — and then commonly he sold to the woman the right to marry without interference. To extort huge sums heartless lords would present hateful suitors. Thus the accounts of the kings of England contain various entries similar to the following one: "Hawissa, who was wife to William Fitz-Roberts, renders [to the king] 130 marks and 4 palfreys, that she may have peace from Peter of Borough, to whom the king has given permission to marry her, and that she may not

[1] The payment of this sum by the son of a deceased vassal was a recognition of the fact that in theory the fief had been granted only for the life of the previous holder and that it had reverted to the higher lord. Cf. § 118.

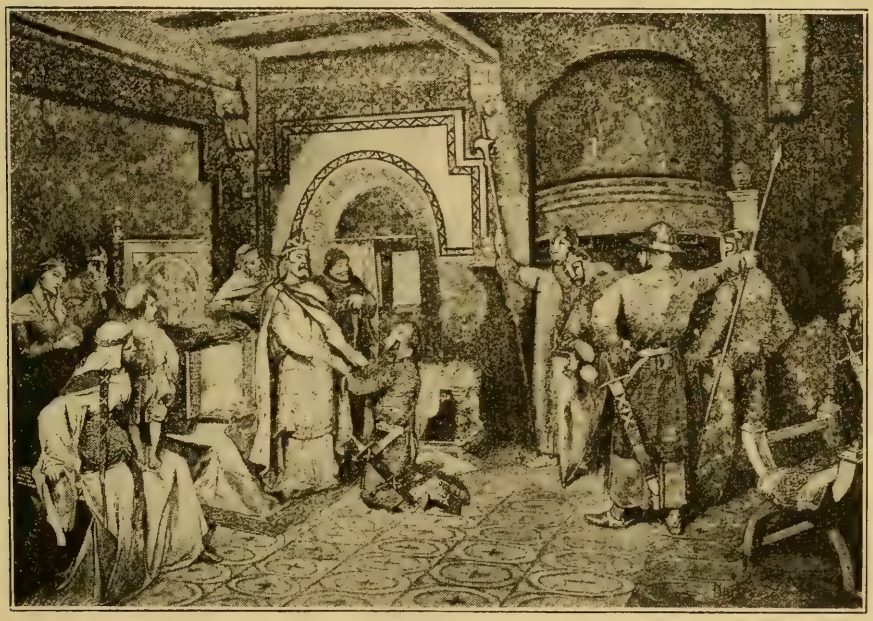
be compelled to marry." (3) In the absence of heirs, the fief returned (*escheated*) to the lord (§118); and (4) if the vassal's duties were not performed, it might come back to him by *forfeiture*, through a decision of his court.

122. Nobility and Workers. — Those men only who were not obliged to work with their hands made up the feudal world in the strict sense of the term. They alone were able to equip themselves with everything necessary to serve on horseback (§ 128). At first it was the possession of a fief or of property sufficient for this purpose, and other reasons, which sharply distinguished them from the rest of the people. They and *their descendants* formed the *nobility or knighthood*, for which the property qualification alone was no longer sufficient or necessary. Not all those of noble lineage actually possessed fiefs or allodial property. Many were simply attached to some great lord. But they alone might be invested with fiefs or enjoy certain other privileged positions at the courts of the mighty.

The fields were tilled by *serfs and villeins* (the latter word from the Latin *villa*, rural possession, see § 34 (1)). They stood, however, in a relation to their lord somewhat similar to that of the noble vassal. They received modest farms, the proceeds of which were their own. Instead of rendering military service they were obliged to serve a specified number of days in the lord's fields and had to deliver to him a certain percentage of their own crops. There existed of course no social equality between them and their masters, from whom they and their children remained socially separated by a hard and fast line. Still a beautiful, not to say cordial, relation often existed between the lord and his peasantry. The *serfs*, as in the later Roman Empire, were bound to the soil and were bought and sold with it. Their condition was often very miserable, because they depended greatly on the good will or the whims of their master. The *villeins* might leave the lord's service if they pleased, just as a tenant is at liberty to give up the farm he

has rented. But it was risky for him to remain without any other master. The lordless and landless man could count on little protection.[1]

Serfdom and villeinage ran into each other in the most confusing manner, so that they are often referred to under either name. This dependent class had partly arisen out of the old



An Act of Homage. — From a twelfth-century manuscript.

slavery, which existed among the Teutons also. But slavery, chiefly owing to Christian influence, had greatly diminished. Nor was there any slave trade deserving of the name. Villeinage in particular often originated by something similar to "commendation" (§ 119). In the troublous times the free peasant might prefer the safety of the dependent worker to the insecurity of his own freedom. He preferably sought the protection of the ecclesiastical institutions, monasteries, for instance,

[1] The way in which the higher classes thought of the villein is shown by the fact that his name became a term of reproach ("villain").

by surrendering himself to their service. Written contracts specified the burdens he was going to take upon himself.

In some regions, the Swiss mountains for instance, a large number if not all the farmers remained free. In the course of time, too, the lot of the dependent worker improved greatly, so that preachers inveighed no less against the extravagance of the peasants than that of other classes.

123. Origin. — It must not be imagined that Feudalism sprung into existence suddenly and in its full final shape, as when a city or state introduces a new system of education. It took centuries to grow. *Its beginnings go far back into the time before Charlemagne.* The great landholders found it easier to divide their immense estates among tenants who paid their rent by services. This practice existed in the later Roman Empire and may have been taken over by the Germans. The kings frequently were not in a position to grant the necessary military protection. But the little army of tenants, later on called vassals, was often strong enough to repel attacks from rapacious neighbors or foreign enemies. The old custom of companionship among the Teutons (§ 48), by which a daring leader would attach to himself a band of loyal followers who were ready to devote their warlike energies to his honor and protection, had its influence on the new relation. The military force was ever ready or could be collected almost at a moment's notice.

124. Originally, in the Germanic kingdoms, every freeholder, large or small, was bound to military service. As a matter of fact, this national army was rarely summoned. As has been mentioned, freeholders often "commended" themselves to some powerful lord. The latter, then, as a rule tried to have them exempted from the general duty, which meant an increase of his own military force. The king's army more and more came to consist of feudal levies, even at the time of Charlemagne.

Charlemagne abolished the tribal dukedoms (§ 90), and had

his realm administered by counts who were changed from time to time. Later on many of these counts succeeded, under weak kings, in making themselves feudal lords of their districts,[1] partly by the voluntary submission of freeholders, partly by violence and usurpation. In several parts, even ducal families rose again and made their position hereditary. The king's army, if he succeeded in gathering one at all, was now essentially feudal, consisting of vassals and sub-vassals.

Moreover, the infantry, once the main part of the national army, lost its importance when the Arabian or Hungarian raiders appeared on their fleet horses or the Danes in their light boats. The swift, mail-clad horseman now became the main reliance. As every warrior had to come up for his own equipment, only the wealthier could afford serving on horseback. This circumstance partly caused, and at any rate tended to perpetuate, the difference between the poor peasant and the nobleman, whose sole occupation consisted in fighting or being ready for fighting. (See § 126.)

The nobleman's castle at the same time afforded protection to his serfs and villeins. In its fortifications they found a refuge when an inroad threatened, and though their modest dwellings might be burned down, at least their life was safe, and they could return to their fields after the storm had swept by.

Thus Feudalism arose out of a great variety of causes. And though it always supposed the existence of a supreme head of the state, it owed much of its predominance to the fact that the kings were not always powerful enough to meet the ever-repeated attacks of foreign foes.

125. Peculiarities. — To understand the system more fully and to see to what complications it was able to lead, the student must keep in mind several peculiarities:

[1] In feudal times the word *county* meant a territory, large or small, ruled over by a count.

A German Knight of the Twelfth Century.

From a contemporary manuscript.

(1) *The vassal was bound to his lord, but not to his lord's lord.* Hence the maxim, "*My vassal's vassal is not my vassal.*" Hence too, there was no appeal from the lord's verdict to the overlord. The king only, as the supreme champion of right and justice, might interfere, but he was far away and it was rarely possible to lay the matter before him. Nor was a subvassal guilty of treason if his lord offended against the higher lord and summoned the subvassals to a war against the latter. The vassals were like so many little kings, each in his own small or large fief. The system tended to a complete decentralization of power. France at one time was divided among some 70,000 fiefholders.

(2) *A man could hold fiefs from different lords.* He then became the vassal of two or more lords. When taking his oath of fealty he would, in such a case, expressly reserve the rights of his first lord, and he could not be forced to war against him. He might take land from one who otherwise was his inferior on the social ladder, even from his own vassal. The obligations were always laid down in carefully worded contracts. It is evident what a complication of relations — we are strongly inclined to call it confusion — could thus be brought about.

Knight in Plate Armor, visor up. — From Lacroix, *Vie Militaire.*

Thus the Count of Champagne in the thirteenth century was lord of twenty-six castles, scattered over north-central France, each the center of a separate fief. Most of these he held from the King of France, but others of them he held from seven other suzerains, — among them the emperor and the Duke of Burgundy. Some of these lords of the count were now and then at war with one another. The count had sublet his land among 2000 vassals, but many of these held lands also from other suzerains, — sometimes from suzerains of the count.

(3) *Not only individuals but corporations as well could enter into the relation of either lord or vassal.* This is particularly true of *ecclesiastical institutions*, as bishoprics and monasteries. From rulers and other pious persons they obtained property of both kinds, allodial as well as feudal. By the latter the bishop or abbot or abbess became a vassal, obliged to furnish a certain number of soldiers to the lord, who might or might not be the king himself. According to the laws of Church and State, however, clerics were not allowed to fight in person.[1] Their possessions, allodial and feudal, they would hand over to vassals. It was the ecclesiastical institutions, too, that received proportionately many possessions by way of "commendation." The burdens they imposed were as a rule lighter than those exacted by lay lords. Besides, the lands thus surrendered became ecclesiastical possessions and enjoyed the special protection granted by stringent laws of the Church against violators of sacred property.

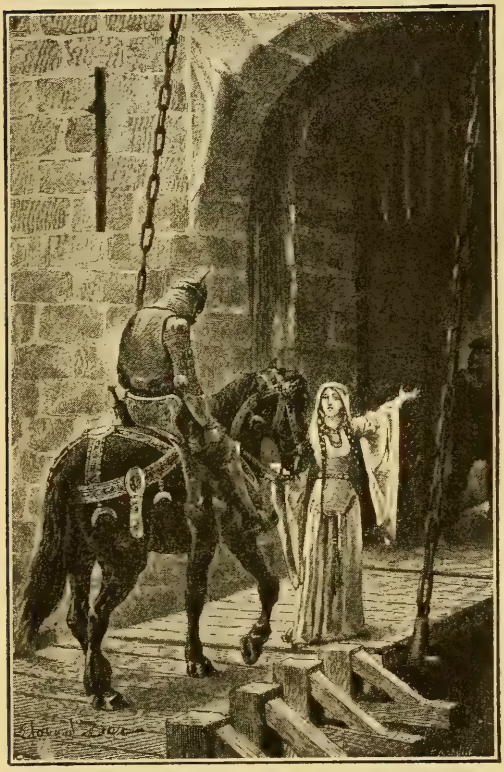
Later on when the *cities* rose to importance, they also might accept or grant fiefs.

(4) As already stated, the terms of "fief," "vassal," "lord," or "suzerain," *in the full sense of the word implied the obligation of military service and enjoyment of certain governmental powers.* Yet after the system was more developed, *there were fiefs without the one or the other, even without either.* All depended on the conditions of the agreement. Such fiefs may be said to hold a middle place between the fiefs proper and the lands allotted to serfs and villeins. It also happened that no land at all was conferred but some other privilege, for instance the right of collecting certain tolls or revenues.

[1] This prohibition was unfortunately not always observed. In the times of disorder, abbots and even bishops are met with who appeared in armor and on horseback at the head of their contingents.

B. Military Features of Feudalism

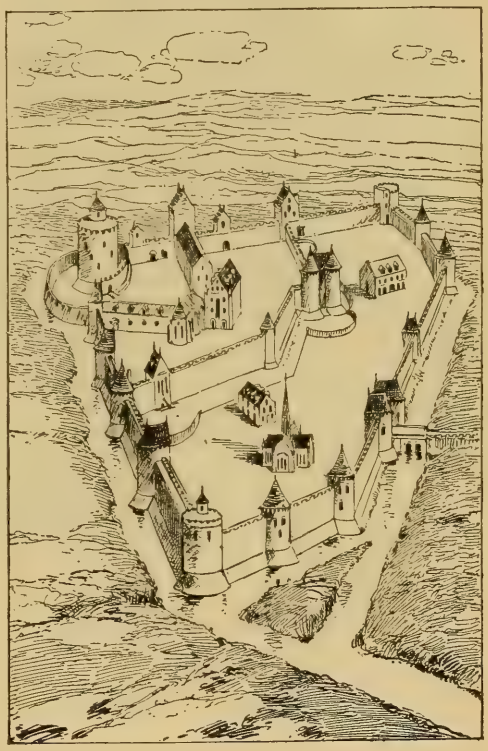
126. (1) Castles. — The nobleman's residence and the heart and center of the fief was the castle (from the Latin *castellum*, fort). In the beginning the castles were merely wooden blockhouses surrounded by palisades and ditches. But they were soon followed by massive stone structures. The main part of the medieval castle was the keep, a very strong tower, in which originally the lord's family would reside. In case of assault it served as the last refuge. Its walls were often enormously thick, so that a man crawling out of a window would have to creep three times his length. The secret stairway leading up to these floors was sometimes concealed within these walls. Connected with the keep were other buildings for the servants and the provisions harvested from the lord's fields. Very frequently the castle crowned the top of some steep hill, where it was often surrounded on one or more sides by precipices. If erected in the plain the castle was protected by a moat, a ditch filled with water, over which usually a drawbridge gave access to the strongly defended gate. (Note the portcullis, a



Drawbridge and Portcullis.
From Gautier's *La Chevalerie*.

heavy iron grating which could be dropped from above, in the picture on opposite page.) The gate was often flanked by towers, from whose slitlike windows bowmen could harass the assailants with their arrows. As the art of building progressed the great feudatory lords erected more elaborate castles, which often included several acres within their walls. The lord's family no longer dwelt in the narrow and gloomy keep but in a more elegantly constructed section or in an extra "hall." Our two illustrations show types of such sumptuously built castles.

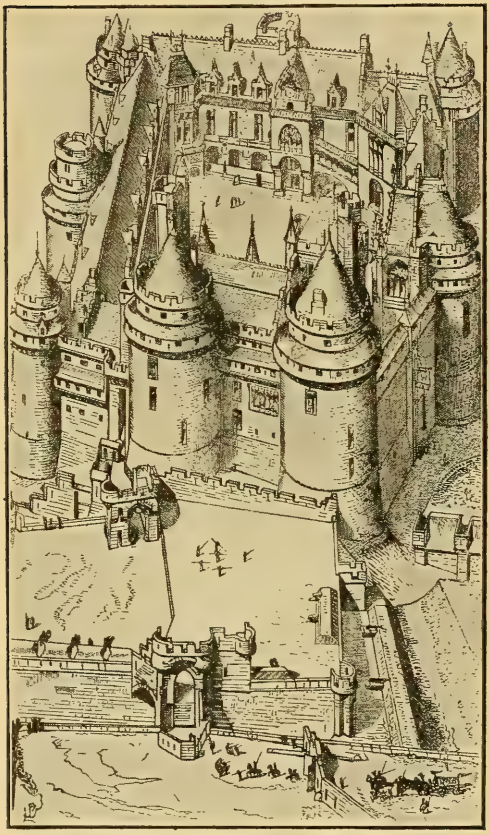
Until the days of gunpowder, feudal castles were virtually impregnable to ordinary attack. They could be captured only by surprise, by treachery, or by famine. Secure of such retreat, a petty lord could sometimes defy even his own sovereign with impunity. Too often the castles became themselves the seats of robber-barons who oppressed the country around them. To-day their gray ruins all over Europe give a peculiar picturesqueness to the landscape, mocking, even in decay, the slighter structures of modern times.



MEDIEVAL CASTLE of the larger sort, with moat and drawbridge. — A "restoration," from Gautier's *La Chevalerie*.

(2) "**Men-at-Arms.**"— The castles afforded a *refuge* for man and treasure. But during the invasions, the problem in *the field* had been to bring to bay the swiftly moving assailants,— the light horsemen of the Hungarians, or the Danes with their swift boats for refuge. The Frankish infantry had proved too

slow. Feudalism met this need also. Each castle was always ready to pour forth its band of trained and faithful men-at-arms (*horsemen in mail, knights*), under the command of the lord, either to gather quickly with other bands into an army under a higher lord, or by themselves to cut off stragglers and hold the fords and passes. The raider's day was over; but meantime the old Teutonic foot militia, in which every freeman had held a place, had given way to an iron-clad cavalry, — the resistless weapon of the new feudal aristocracy.



THE CASTLE OF PIERREFONDS in the fourteenth century. — A "restoration" by Viollet le Duc.

(3) **Armor.** — In the early feudal period, down to 1100, *the defensive armor* was an iron cap and a leather garment for the body, covered with iron scales. Then came in coats of "chain-mail,"[1] reaching from neck to feet, with a hood of like material for the head. Still later appeared the heavy "plate armor," and the helmet with visor, which we usually associate with feudal warfare. A suit of this armor weighed fifty pounds or more; and in battle the warrior bore also a weighty shield, besides his long sword and his lance. Necessarily the warhorse that carried a

[1] The warrior in the first illustration on page 136 wears this armor.

heavy man so equipped was a powerful animal; and he too had parts of his body protected by iron plates.

The supremacy of the noble over common men during the Middle Ages (before the invention of gunpowder) **lay mainly in this equipment.** He could ride down a mob of unarmed footmen at will. The peasants and serfs who sometimes followed the feudal army to the field, to slay the wounded and plunder the dead, wore no armor and wielded only pikes or clubs and pitchforks. Naturally they came to be called *infantry;* that is, *boys* (from the Latin *infantes*, children).

Villeins Receiving Directions for Work.

From a miniature in a fifteenth-century manuscript.

127. Private Wars and the "Truce of God." — The nobility was an ever ready militia, consisting of professional fighters, who thought of war as a most honorable occupation. It is not surprising that they would often refuse to submit to whatever courts there were, and would prefer to settle their own disputes by an appeal to the sword instead of to the law. The lords of the castles claimed the right of private warfare. They resorted to it to redress the wrongs, real or imaginary, which they or their vassals had suffered. The result was in many parts of Europe a new general state of insecurity which hindered the growth of industry and severely damaged agriculture. Neutral parties had to endure more than the belligerents.

Plunderings and the destruction of whole villages accompanied every such strife. There was a crying need of some antidote, but who would be able to give it? In France, particularly, where in the beginning the royal power was very weak, something had to be done.

In the beginning of the eleventh century the bishops of France introduced the *Truce of God.* There was to be no private warfare during the holy seasons of Advent and Lent. During the rest of the year it remained forbidden from the Wednesday night of each week until the morning of the following Monday. Thus the Truce of God established about 240 days of peace every year. Transgressors were threatened with the severest penalties. Soon this law found its way into other states. It was probably never completely observed in any region, but even its partial observance greatly tended to diminish the devastations and other evils of private wars. For France it was of the greatest importance. It was, says an historian, "the first step in the making of France," because it curbed "by religious discipline the powerful but turbulent elements of that gifted race." (See Guggenberger, I, § 345.)

JUGGLERS. — From a thirteenth-century manuscript.

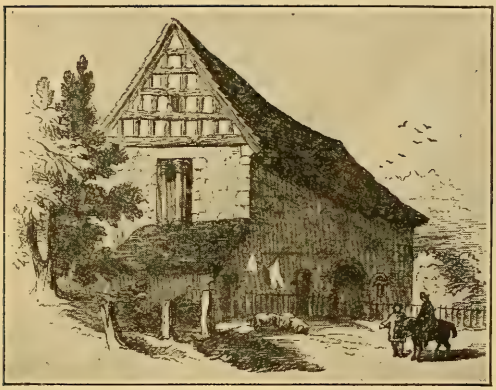
CHAPTER VI

LIFE IN THE FEUDAL AGE

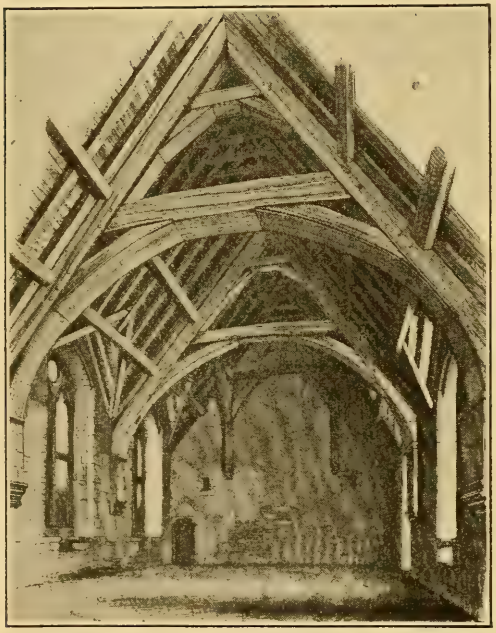
A. THE MANOR AND ITS POPULATION

There were few towns in Western Europe until the twelfth century, and the new town life of that period will be discussed in its place (§§ 254 ff.). Society was mainly rural. It is the work and the home life of this rural society with which this chapter deals. The essential features of medieval life were more or less the same all over feudal Europe. But we have here in view chiefly the conditions and customs of England.

128. The Manor. — The possessions which the knight cultivated through his own villeins (or serfs) formed a manor, the center of which was his castle, grand or modest, according to his means. Rich landowners, however, divided their estates into several manors often widely separated. In each manor they erected *a manor house*, in which the chief steward lived and the crops and provisions were stored. Some manor houses were only a little better and more spacious than the dwellings of the villeins, others were imposing and more similar to the castle proper. The villeins of the manor commonly lived together in a village near the manor house. Each village had its church, usually at a little distance, with grounds about it, part of which was used as a graveyard, "God's Acre." At one end of the village street was the lord's smithy, and on some convenient



ANCIENT MANOR HOUSE, MELICHOPE, ENGLAND; in its present condition. The stairway leading to the upper story is cut into the thick wall. — From Wright's *Homes of Other Days*.



HALL OF STOKE CASTLE. — Stoke Castle is but a modest manor house of the thirteenth century.

stream the lord's mill. The smith and the miller were usually serfs or villeins, and spent most of their labor on the land, but they were somewhat better housed and more favored than the rest of their class.

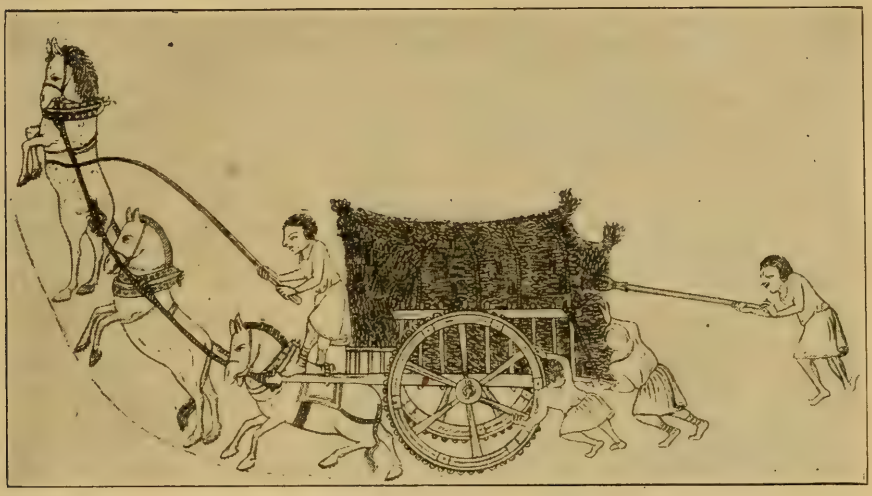
Peasant Homes.[1] — The other dwellings were low and narrow, plainly built of wood and clay, and thatched with straw. They had usually no chimney or floor, and often no opening (no window) except the door. They straggled along either side of an irregular lane. Behind each house was its garden patch and its low stable and barn.

129. Farming. — The plow land was divided into three great "fields" or three groups of fields. One field was sown to wheat (in the fall); one to rye or barley (in the spring); and the third lay fallow, to recuperate. The

[1] For a description of the French peasant's home of the fourteenth century see Gasquet, *The Black Death*, p. 63 f.

next year this third field would be the wheat land, while the old wheat field would raise the barley, and so on. This primitive "rotation of crops" kept a third of the land idle.

Every "field" was divided into a great number of narrow strips, each as nearly as possible a "furrow-long," [1] and one, two, or four rods wide, so that each contained from a quarter of an acre to an acre. Usually the strips were separated by "balks," or ridges of turf. A



A Reaper's Cart Going Uphill.

After Jusserand's *English Wayfaring Life:* from a fourteenth-century manuscript. The force of men and horses indicates the nature of the road. The steepness of the hill is of course, exaggerated so as to fit the picture to the space in the manuscript.

peasant's holding was about thirty acres, ten acres in each "field"; and his share in each lay not in one piece, but in fifteen or thirty scattered strips. The lord's land, probably half the whole, lay in strips like the rest, and was managed by his steward.

Of course this kind of holding compelled a "common" cultivation. That is, each man must sow what his neighbor sowed; and as a rule, each could sow, till, and harvest only when his neighbors did. Agriculture was crude. Even the lord's stewards did not know how to get good returns from the land. They expected only six or eight bushels of wheat or rye from an acre. Walter of Henley, a thirteenth-century

[1] This expression is the origin of our "furlong."

writer on agriculture, says that threefold the seed was an average harvest, and that often a man was lucky to get back his seed grain and as much again.

The plow, made almost entirely of wood, required eight oxen, and then it did hardly more than scratch the surface of the ground. (See picture on p. 171.) Carts were few and cumbrous. The distance to the outlying parts of the fields added to the labor of the villagers. There was little or no cultivation of root foods. Potatoes, of course, were unknown. Sometimes turnips and cabbages and carrots were grown in garden plots behind the houses. The wheat and rye in the " fields " were raised for breadstuffs, and the barley for brewing beer.

The most important crop was the wild hay, upon which the cattle had to be fed during the winter. Meadowland was twice as valuable as plow land. The meadow was fenced for the hay harvest, but was afterward thrown open for pasture. Usually there were other extensive pasture and wood lands, where lord and villagers fattened their cattle and swine.

It was difficult enough to carry animals through the winter for the necessary farm work. So those to be used for food were killed in the fall and salted down. The large use of salt meat and the little variety in food often caused diseases among the people. The chief luxury among the poor was honey, which took the place of sugar.

130. Each village was a world in itself. — Even the different villages of the same lord had little intercourse with one another. Each produced everything it needed. The lord's bailiff secured from some distant market such products as could not be supplied at home, *e.g.* salt, millstones, and iron. Except for this, a village was hardly touched by the great outside world — unless a war desolated it, or a royal procession chanced to pass through it. This shut-in life was monotonous. Yet pictures found in the manuscript books of the time show that it was by no means without its pastimes and amusements. We shall see how great and wholesome an influence was exercised on it by the Church (§ 144).

131. The Court of the Manor. — The manor was self-sufficient to a large extent even in the line of government. At its head was the court of the manor, composed of all the men. This court met every three or four weeks. As all the holdings in the manor were hereditary, customs had grown up, which it was beyond the steward's and even the lord's power to change. The court decided cases according to this unwritten law. The lord's steward presided and exercised very great power; but all took part, and the older men had an important voice in declaring "the custom of the manor," a thing which differed in every two manors, and which held the place of town legislation among us. The assembly settled disputes between villagers, imposed penalties upon any who had broken "the customs of the manor," and, from time to time, redistributed the strips of plow land among the village families. In England such gatherings sent their presiding officer and their "four best men" to the larger local assemblies (§ 155).

PEASANTS' MAY DANCE. — From a miniature in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

B. LIFE OF THE NOBILITY

132. Life in the Castle. — When not actually engaged in war or in some private feud, the nobleman lived in his castle and

enjoyed the company of his family. He trained his sons or pages in the military arts and showed interest in their progress. He looked after the administration of his estates. The "Courts" (§ 121, 2) also took up much of his time.

The lady was the queen of the castle and herself supervised all the details of the household. The bunch of keys which hung from her belt was the exterior sign of her dominion. But she was well acquainted with the finer arts of embroidery as well, and took pride in displaying the work of her nimble hands. The famous Bayeux Tapestry (see pictures to § 153) is said to have been made by Mathilda, the wife of William the Conqueror; this is rather doubtful, but the fact that it is attributed to her shows what occupations and accomplishments were considered both honorable and desirable in ladies of rank.

A Victor in a Tournament. — After a drawing by Dürer.

133. The favorite sport of this fighting age was a sort of mock battle called a tournament. — Kings and great lords gave such entertainments, to win popular applause, on all joyous occasions, — the marriage of a daughter, the knighting of a son, the celebration of a victory.

Every student should know the splendid story of the combats in "the lists of Ashby" in Scott's *Ivanhoe*, and any mere description is tame in comparison. As there portrayed, the news of the coming event was carried far and near for weeks in advance. Knights began to journey to the appointed place,

perhaps from all parts of a kingdom, in groups that grew ever larger as the roads converged. Some came to win fame; some to repair their fortunes, — since the knight who overthrew an opponent possessed his horse and armor and the ransom of his person, as in real war. The knightly cavalcade might be joined or followed by a motley throng journeying to the same destination; among them, jugglers to win small coins by amusing the crowds, and traveling merchants with their wares on the backs of donkeys. There were few inns, but the mixed group of travelers found ready welcome for meals and lodging at any castle or manor house.

The contests took place in a space (the "lists") shut off from interference by palisades. The balconies above, gay with streamers and floating scarfs, were crowded with ladies and nobles and perhaps with rich townsmen. Below, a mass of peasants and other common men jostled one another for the better chances to see the contestants. Sometimes two or more days were given to the combats. Part of the time, one group of knights "held the lists" against all comers, affording a series of single combats on horseback and on foot. Again, two mimic armies met in the mêlée. Perhaps even the yeomen were allowed to show their skill with the bow and in wrestling.

134. Chase and Falconry. — The population was thinly scattered, and large districts everywhere were waste or forest. This gave admirable opportunity for hunting to the inhabitants of every castle. Hunting was the second most important sport of the nobles, and it was a monopoly possessed by that class, protected by cruel and bloody custom. For a common man to be found with a haunch of venison, or even with a hare, meant the loss of eyes or hands.

Indeed, hunting was more than sport. The table of every castle depended in large measure upon a steady supply of game. The larger wild animals, — bear, deer, wild boars, — were brought to bay with dogs, and slain by the hunter with

spear or short sword. (This was the "chase.") Smaller game — herons, wild ducks, rabbits — were hunted with trained hawks. (This was "falconry.") Each castle counted among its most trusted servants a falconer, who saw to the capture of young hawks (falcons) and trained them to fly at game and to bring it back to the master. *Falconry* was the peculiar medieval form of hunting, and lords and ladies were madly devoted to the sport. Many a noble lady, even on a long journey of many days, rode, falcon on wrist, ready at any moment to "cast off" if a game bird rose beside the road, — somewhat as the backwoodsman carries his rifle on a journey, always ready for a stray deer.

135. Feasting filled a large part of the noble's life. Meals were served in the great hall of the castle, and were the social hours of the day. Tables were set out on movable trestles, and the household, visitors, and dependents gathered about them on seats and benches, with nice respect for precedence in rank, — the master and his noblest guests at the head, and the lowest servants toward the bottom of the long line. A profusion of food in many courses, especially at the midday "dinner," was carried in from the kitchen across the open courtyard. Peacocks, swans, whole boars, or at least boar heads, were among the favorite roasts; and huge venison "pies" were a common dish. Mother Goose's "four and twenty blackbirds" had real models in many a medieval pasty which, when opened, let live birds escape, to be hunted down among the rafters of the hall by falcons.

At each guest's place was a knife, to cut slices from the roasts within his reach, and a spoon for broths, but no fork or napkin or plate. Each one dipped his hand into the pasties, carrying the dripping food directly to his mouth. Loaves of bread were crumbed up and rolled between the hands to wipe off the surplus gravy, and then thrown to the dogs under the tables; and between courses, servants passed basins of water and towels. The food was washed down with huge draughts of wine, usually diluted with water. A prudent steward of King Louis IX of France (Joinville, § 137) tells us how he "caused the wine of the varlets (at the bottom of the tables) to be well watered, but less water to be put in the wine of the squires, and before each knight [he] caused to be placed a huge goblet of wine and a goblet of water," — a judicious hint which it is to be hoped some knights accepted.

During the midday and evening meals, there was much opportunity for conversation, especially with strange guests, who repaid the hospitality by the news of the districts from which they came. Intervals between courses, too, were sometimes filled with story-telling and song, and with rude jokes by the lord's "jester" or "fool."

136. Chivalry. — This grim life had its romantic and gentle side, indicated to us by the name *chivalry*. The term at first meant the nobles on horseback (from the French *cheval*, horse), but it came to stand for the whole institution of "knighthood." Chivalry grew up slowly between 1000 and 1200 A.D. *We will look at it in its fully developed form.*

A Court Fool. — After a medieval miniature in brilliant colors. Many great lords kept such jesters.

There were two stages in the training of a young noble for knighthood.

a. At about the age of seven he was sent from his own home into the household of his father's suzerain, or of some other noble friend, to become a *page*. Here, for seven or eight years, with other boys, he waited on the lord and lady of the castle, serving them at table and running their errands. As soon as he was strong enough, he was trained daily, by some old man-at-arms, in riding and in the use of light arms. But his attendance was paid chiefly to some lady of the castle, and by her, in return, he was taught obedience, courtesy, and a knight's duty to religion and to ladies.

b. At fourteen or fifteen the page became a *squire* to the lord. Now he oversaw the care of his lord's horse and the cleaning of his shining armor; he went with his lord to the hunt, armed him for battle, carried his shield, and accompanied him in the field, with special care for his safety.

After five or six years of such service, at the age of twenty

or twenty-one, the squire's education was completed. He was now ready to become a knight. Admission to the order of knighthood was a matter of imposing ceremonial. The youth bathed (a symbol of purification), fasted, made his confession to a priest, and then spent the night in the chapel in prayer, "watching" his arms. The next morning came solemn services

THE EXERCISE OF THE QUINTAIN. — The boys ride, by turns, at the wooden figure. If the rider strikes the shield squarely in the center, it is well. If he hits only a glancing blow, the wooden figure swings on its foot and whacks him with its club as he passes.

in the church and a sermon upon the duties of a knight. Then the household gathered in the castle yard, along with many visiting knights and ladies and their attendants. In the background of this gay scene a servant held a noble horse, soon to be the charger of the new knight. The candidate knelt before the lord of the castle, and there took the "vow" to be a brave and gentle knight, to defend the church, to protect ladies, to succor the distressed, especially widows and orphans.

Then the lord of the castle or some other prominent knight struck him lightly over the shoulder with the flat of the sword, exclaiming, "In the name of God, of St. Michael, and of St. George, I dub you knight." This was the "accolade." Next the ladies of the castle put his new armor upon him, gave him his sword, and buckled on a knight's golden spurs. Then the newly made knight vaulted upon his horse and gave some exhibition of his skill in arms and in horsemanship; and the festival closed with games and feasting and the exchange of gifts.[1]

More honored still was the noble who had been dubbed knight by some famous leader on the field of victory, as the reward for distinguished bravery. In such case, there was no ceremony except the accolade.

137. The Christian Character of Knighthood is clearly shown in the ceremonies of the solemn knighting and the oath taken by the young nobleman. There were never wanting men who carried out their obligations most conscientiously. Thus chivalry exercised a salutary effect upon the views of the higher classes chiefly by putting a high ideal, which at the same time did not lack solid foundation in reason and Faith, before the eye of the knight. Gallantry as long as it was based upon the veneration of the Lady of Ladies, the Virgin Mother of God, could not fail to produce at once nobleness of sentiment, purity of morals, and elegance of manner. We have already referred to similar effects of vassalage (§§ 120, 121). The man who stands forth most prominently as the ideal knight was St. Louis, King of France (1226–1270).

Joinville, already quoted in § 120, gives us a vivid picture of this true nobleman. He had followed the king on a crusade and served for a time in his household on terms of mutual friendship. When ninety years old he dictated his recollections of the Saint. The personal re-

[1] The knighting of a squire must not be confounded with investiture (§ 118). The accolade transferred no fief or any kind of property. It made the young man a full-fledged noble, who was in no wise bound to him who had dubbed him knight. Investiture with a fief *supposed* knighthood.

lation of the two men lends a peculiar charm to these memoirs. Here follow some extracts from them. The book is dedicated to the king's great-grandson, then the heir to the throne.

"And because I see no one who ought to have (the book) so rightly as you who are his heir, I send it to you, that you and your brothers and others *who may hear it read*, may take good example from it and put these examples in practice, that God may be pleased with you. . . . The King loved truth to such a degree that even with the Saracens he would not draw back from what he had promised. As to his palate he was so indifferent that never did I hear him ask for any particular dish, as many men do, but he ate contentedly of whatever was served up to him. He was measured in his speech. Never in my life did I hear him speak ill of any one; nor did I ever hear him name the Devil, — a name widely spread in this realm (and it is a great disgrace to the kingdom of France, and to the king when he suffers it, that one can hardly speak without saying 'the Devil take it,' and it is a great sin to devote to the Devil a man given to God from the moment that he is baptized. In the Joinville household, whoso utters such a word receives a box on the ears or a slap on the mouth, and bad language is almost wholly suppressed). . . . He asked me once whether I wished to be honored and to enter Paradise through death? Keep yourself then from doing or saying aught which, if all the world knew, you could not avow and say, 'I did this,' 'I said that.' He told me to refrain from contradicting anything said in my presence, providing there was no sin in remaining silent, because hard words engender strife. . . . He used to say that a man should so equip his person that the grey-beards of the day should not be able to say that it was over done; nor the young men that there was anything wanting. After the king's return from over the sea, he lived so devoutly that he never wore furs of different colors, or scarlet cloth, or gilt stirrups or spurs. I was reminded of this by the father of the king who now reigns [Philip the Hardy] alluding once to the embroidered coats of arms fashionable now-a-days. I made answer to him that never in the voyage over the sea did I see embroidered coats . . . and that he would have done better to have given the money to the poor and to have worn plain clothes as his father used to do."

When looking a little more closely at these knightly sentiments we find that, after all, they are the obligations of every Christian, enjoined either by the Ten Commandments or by the law of Charity, and emphasized by the example of Jesus Christ and his

Saints. It was of great importance that they were solemnly proclaimed as the knight's duties, — with that peculiar coloring which his station in life seemed to call for. His example was certainly wholesome for the lower classes. And when, in later times, wealth and with it the level of life rose among all classes, the more cultured manners of chivalry were eagerly copied, to the great benefit of society.

138. Drawbacks. — Not every knight's breast harbored sentiments so lofty as those of St. Louis. Hideous crimes disfigured the record of many a "noble" warrior who had performed great deeds of valor. The lawless "robber-knight" who made his living by preying upon the fortune of defenseless wayfarers was, however, chiefly the product of later centuries with completely altered social and economic conditions. The respect for women often degenerated into knight-errantry, an exaggerated and ridiculous cult of the female sex, of which the Spaniard Cervantes, in his famous *Don Quixote*, gives an amusing caricature. The whole system, too, by putting great privileges in the hands of the nobility was apt to lead to a contempt of the lower classes. Yet all this should not lead us to a wholesale condemnation of a system which was, at any rate, the best those times could devise, and which in itself was calculated to emphasize the practice of eminently Christian virtues.

For Further Reading. — Excellent "source" material will be found in *Pennsylvania Reprints*, IV, No. 3; in Robinson's *Readings*, I, 170–196; and in Ogg's *Source Book*. The student should know Froissart (fourteenth century), — at least in Lanier's charming volume, *The Boys' Froissart*, — and Joinville's *Memoir of St. Louis* (thirteenth century).

Historical fiction upon the feudal period is particularly valuable. Scott's novels, of course, must not be overlooked, particularly *Ivanhoe*, which treats of feudal England in the time of Richard I, although they give a false glamour to the age. Other excellent portraits are given in Robert Louis Stevenson's *Black Arrow*. *Students may be called upon to find incidents in such literature illustrating various paragraphs in this chapter.*

Exercise. — Explain the terms, — vassal, fief, commendation, homage, fealty, allod, etc. Let the class prepare lists of such terms for rapid and brief explanation, and select some thirty, from this volume so far, for future reviews. Let the student determine which of the conditions leading to the establishment of Feudalism (§ 123) are *economic* in character, *i.e.* referring to property; which are *political*, *i.e.* referring to government; and which are *military*. Let the same be determined as to the mutual obligations induced by Feudalism.

CHAPTER VII

THE CHURCH

139. The Church a Bond of Unity. — We call this great period the age of religious unity. This is not to be taken in a merely temporal sense, as if the fact of such unity had nothing to do with the character of the time. The contrary is the case. The Church represented the unity of the world. Men felt that they were, first and foremost, Christians, and that each and every one, from the highest to the lowest, was a full-fledged member of a world-wide and organized community. They all professed themselves subject to one and the same authority, that of the pope and the hierarchy of the archbishops and bishops. All believed the same articles of faith. All had the right and duty to receive the same sacraments. The fact of this unity was emphasized in the sermons to which they listened. It was brought home to them by the visits of the bishop, — *e.g.* for the administration of the Sacrament of Confirmation, — and by the reading from the pulpit of his pastoral letters and ordinances.[1]

What little news found its way from other nations into the town served to confirm implicitly the living knowledge of this fact of universal unity. Even the enemy in war had to be treated as a fellow-Christian, or general reprobation would result. The *same language*, too, was used in all the Church services in all the various nations, with insignificant exceptions (§ 104). It was this employment of Latin by the Church that secured to the Roman tongue its place as the language of science and thus

[1] See Gasquet, *Parish Life in Medieval England*, Ch. 10.

helped bring about a further unity, namely that of literary and educational endeavor (§ 267).

140. The Church and the Nations. — Nationalism, that is, the strong feeling of unity and independence among the members of one and the same nation, did not exist in the degree which it has attained in recent times. The kingdoms, on the one hand, were not sufficiently centralized on account of the prevalence of Feudalism (§ 125) which bound a man more expressly to his immediate lord than to the country at large. This, to some extent, checked, but did not prevent entirely, the growth of a sound national feeling, which was, moreover, favored by the development of national languages. Just during this period the national languages took on a more definite shape under the guiding influence of the Latin literature (§§ 66, 98). But on the other hand people thought more of their character as citizens of the great Christian commonwealth than of the bond of nationality. Let the student remember, too, what an immense debt of gratitude the individual nations owe to the Church for their very existence (§ 57, 69, 75, 100, 102, 107, 108, 112). The bishops ever remained the best advisers of the rulers. The Church inculcated obedience to rightful authority and stood forth, at times, as the only power capable of enforcing law and order (§§ 57, 127).

141. The Ecclesiastical Authorities. — **(1) The Pope** was held in great veneration. It was not until the fourteenth century that dissatisfied and revolutionary writers began to deny the infallibility of the Head of the Church concerning matters of faith and morals. The pope was assisted from very early times by the *Cardinals*, that is, those priests who were in charge of certain prominent Roman churches. The six bishops of the immediate surrounding of Rome were also called cardinals. For centuries the pope was elected by the clergy of Rome, the cardinals playing an important part in this momentous affair, while the people of Rome signified their adhesion to the choice by acclamation. We shall see how the papal election was reduced to a more definite form.

Apart from large voluntary donations sent to Rome, or brought by the numberless pilgrims, the popes drew little revenue

from foreign countries. England, however, had promised to pay a certain sum annually, the "Peter's Pence," which name is in our days given to any voluntary contribution toward the support of the Vicar of Christ. After the thirteenth century the popes on account of peculiar circumstances were forced to make a more extensive use of their right to tax the *Church property* of other countries.

Written papal utterances are called either *Bulls* or *Briefs*. The word *bull* comes from the Latin *bulla*, which signifies the piece of sealing wax or lead or gold in which the seal was impressed. This by means of a thread was so attached to the document that it could not be removed without violating the seal. This was the approved mode of indorsing by seal any document, secular or sacred. The designation of Bull was soon transferred from the seal to the document. Common use later restricted it to papal documents of great importance. Documents of a less important nature are called *Briefs*, from the Latin *breve*, short, though in size they are not necessarily shorter than the bulls. In our days, when some particular point of doctrine seems to call for an authoritative and detailed statement, the popes often issue documents called *Encyclicals*. All the papal documents are known and quoted by the first several words, with which they happen to begin, as the bull "Gloriosae Dominae" concerning the sodalities of the B. V. Mary, or the Encyclical "Rerum Novarum" in which Pope Leo XIII unfolds the Catholic program of social activity.

142. The Ecclesiastical Authorities. (2) The Bishops and Clergy; Church Property. — Bishops and clergy were not supported by collections as is the case in our country. The establishment of a bishopric or parish required, in the mind of the people, the donation by the king or other rich landowner of as much property as would afford a revenue upon which the incumbent could live conformably with his social rank. In many cases this endowment was very liberal. The same was the case concerning monasteries (§ 61). Much of this property was allodial; but the bishops, and the abbots of the great monasteries, commonly held many feudal possessions (§ 125, 3). This made them the temporal rulers of certain districts and

placed them in a new relation to the sovereign. In Germany in particular the possessions of the Church were very large.

The lawful way of appointing the bishops was by election. All the priests of the diocese who could be present at the occasion

Durham Cathedral. — Norman style (§ 277). Begun in 1093.

were permitted to participate. Naturally those of the episcopal city, and in particular those attached to the bishop's cathedral[1] enjoyed a greater prestige. Prominent seculars, above all royal officers, were also allowed some influence, and they some-

[1] *I.e.* the church in which the bishop is wont to officiate and in which stands his pontifical *cathedra* or throne.

times usurped rights which had been by no means granted. Soon the right of electing the bishop was restricted to the chief ecclesiastics of the cathedral, the "Canons of the Cathedral Chapter." [1] We shall see how the lay element was completely eliminated.

The Clergy below the Bishops. — If we were transported back to a medieval town, the large number of clerics would certainly attract our attention. They appear on the streets in their long black cassocks. The monks, too, wear their habits in public wherever they go.

Then, as now, the first step toward the priesthood was the tonsure, a ceremony in which the bishop cuts off some of the hair of the young levite, to signify that he must renounce the vanities of worldly life. Next he receives the four minor Orders, as ostiarius (doorkeeper), lector (reader), exorcist and acolyte (Mass server). Those only in minor Orders can at any time recede from the clergy and take up secular pursuits. The higher or major Orders are subdeaconship, deaconship, and priesthood. The number of persons who had received the minor Orders was much greater than now. Many of them did not intend to go any further. All the young men who wished to devote themselves to a life of study, and many who strove for posts like that of advisers of lords or other great men, would at least take minor Orders.[2] Many of the positions in the administrative offices of the bishops were given to such men, or such as had been ordained deacons. In fact the number of deacons in a bishop's service was often very great.[3]

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[1] The word *canon* means something permanent, unchangeable. In the Mass it denotes the part which does not vary with the feasts and holy seasons. In olden times all the *priests* permanently attached to any of the greater churches were called *canons*, and together they formed the *Chapter*.

[2] Hence the word *clerk*, and *clerical labor*, derived its present meaning, while the word *cleric* still denotes a member of the clergy.

[3] It must be observed that a young man does not become a member of the clergy by merely joining a religious Order, as the Benedictines or Cister-

143. Clerical Privileges. — The clergy and the religious of both sexes enjoyed exemption from the ordinary courts. If they had transgressed, their cases came before special ecclesiastical tribunals. This privilege was based on the consideration that those who in the highest sense take the place of the King of Kings, should not be subject to the verdict of others, and that they would be freer in guiding and even rebuking laymen if they had not to fear that they might some day perhaps face the same men as their judges. Thus, too, the most educated and cultured class of society was brought before judges more intelligent than those of the secular courts, which had not yet divested themselves completely of the methods of barbarism. "The clerical judges were men of talent and education: the uniformity and equity of their decisions were preferred to the caprice and violence which seemed to sway the royal and baronial justiciaries."

The ecclesiastical court could inflict all kinds of punishments, death alone excepted. As a matter of fact, the punishment of clerical offenders was often rather drastic. The severest was degradation. A degraded priest can, of course, not lose the very character of priesthood which remains indelibly imprinted in his soul. But he may no longer officiate in any capacity, nor draw the revenues of any ecclesiastical property nor enjoy any privilege granted to the clerical state. Degradation is the death penalty for the priest as priest. In its strictest form it is carried out with stern and doleful ceremonies.

The large possessions and privileges connected with ecclesiastical offices sometimes led light-minded men to embrace the clerical state not for the good that could be done in it but to obtain the means for an easy and carefree life. Influential

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cians. It is the reception of the minor or major Orders, by the hands of a bishop, that makes him a cleric. However, all the religious share in many of the privileges of the clergy. Note the different meanings of the word *Order*.

nobles and princes, too, often contrived to provide for their sons by forcing them into well-endowed prelacies. Such men never were a blessing but often a curse for Church and State. On the other hand the clerical state offered for a long time the only chance for talented boys of the lower classes to rise above their condition. Many a bishop and abbot and pope was not ashamed to own his lowly extraction.

144. Religious Life of the People.—The people lived with the Church. They knew the importance of the sacraments. Private prayer was extensively practiced both by the individual and in the families. The ecclesiastical year with its round of Sundays, Holydays and Sacred Seasons kept elevating ideas ever fresh in the minds of all. People loved to assist at the divine services, and the daily hearing of Mass was a very common practice.

The greatest natural blessing Christ bestowed on mankind is the elevation of matrimony to the dignity of a sacrament and the restoration of the indissolubility of marriage. This, together with the fundamental doctrine of the immortality of every human soul, elevated both the woman and the child and at the same time reëstablished the rights and duties of parents.[1] Christian home life flourished in the Ages of Faith. Parents were respected and loved, and the children were the treasures of the family.

The rest from servile work on Sundays and the numerous holydays was of immense importance for the worker. These days were his days of recreation. And he was wise and Christian enough not to consider the religious duties of his Sunday piety an impediment to his relaxation. They took his mind away from the drudgery of his monotonous occupation during the week and filled him with elevating and consoling thoughts.[2]

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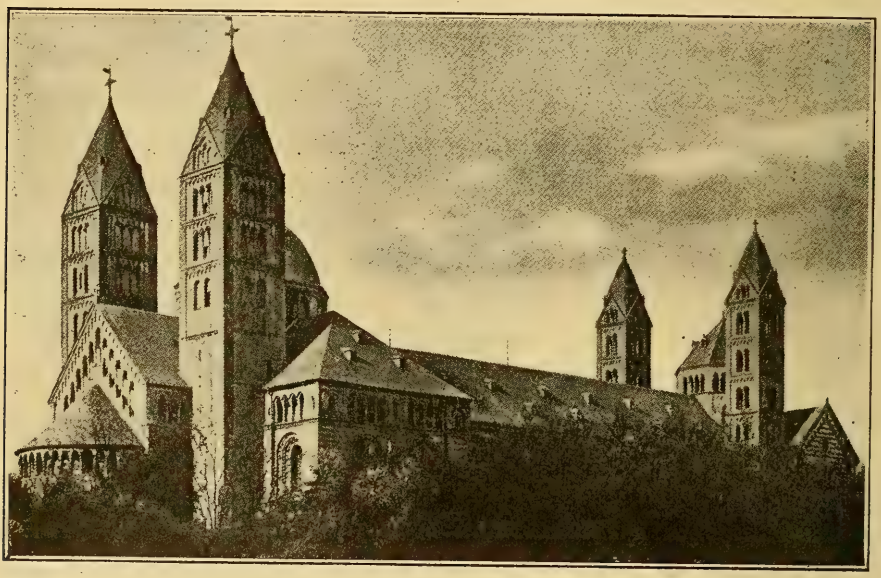
[1] Read the beautiful essay on "The Book of a Medieval Mother" in Rt. Rev. Shahan's *The Middle Ages*, pp. 240 ff.

[2] Gasquet's *Parish Life in Medieval England* gives an admirable description of the way in which the Church affected the life of the common people.

145. Liberality. — Charity was very widely practiced, not only by the monasteries (§ 60) but by the entire clergy and laity, high and low. Almsgiving was a daily exercise of piety with many. Pope Innocent III inaugurated the establishment of regular hospitals on a large scale. A similar open-handedness showed itself in the contributions for the building of churches. The rich gave their treasures, the poor their labor. Thus many



SPEYER CATHEDRAL. — Romanesque style. Built 1030–1061. (See § 277.)

small towns were able to erect large and expensive temples, which are still the objects of our admiration. The jewels of the ladies were often sold for the benefit of the poor or were changed into sacred vessels, while the holy vestments of old churches still testify to the medieval lady's admirable skill in every kind of needlework. (See § 132.)

146. Penance. — Sins were indeed committed, — grievous, sometimes enormous sins. But deep in the heart of the sinner there remained the Christian Faith in all its strength. Sooner or later, at least before his death, the sinner returned seriously

and honestly to the God whom he had never denied, and if still possible made all the reparation imposed on him by the priest or bishop. The people much more than now realized the guilt of sin and were more ready to do penance for their trespasses. The confessors in the Sacrament of Penance and ecclesiastical authorities outside of it enjoined greater works of atonement than is now customary. The transition of knights and other persons of high rank from a worldly or less edifying life to one of constant penance was of rather frequent occurrence. St. Gerlach — see his life mentioned in the book list — thus became a hermit living in a primitive hut on his own large possessions.

147. Ecclesiastical Penalties. — Very different from the penance imposed in the Sacrament of Confession upon a contrite and willing penitent are the ecclesiastical penalties inflicted upon the obstinate offender for certain great crimes. The greatest of these penalties is the *excommunication*, which cuts a man off entirely from the Communion of Saints. The excommunicate has no share in the good works performed in the Christian world and cannot receive the sacraments. Excommunication may be pronounced by the bishop or the pope. If it is inflicted publicly with the name of the guilty party mentioned, the latter may no longer hear Mass, nor is a priest allowed to say Mass while such a person is in the church. All the faithful are enjoined to avoid intercourse with him, unless they are excused by very grave reasons. In the Ages of Faith it was generally considered evident that an excommunicated man was unfit to rule over a Christian country.

Seeing the great care with which the Church proceeds before the infliction of penalties, it is unlikely that innocent persons are to suffer by excommunication. Should this happen, however, and the Church is not infallible in this matter, the excommunication would be invalid before God. But even so it must be conscientiously observed to avoid scandal and grave disorder. The question whether or not an excommunicated person is in the state of mortal sin is finally to be answered by the confessor in the Sacrament of Penance.

The interdict, as far as this notion concerns us here, does not affect the people directly. It does not exclude any one from the Communion of Saints. But it prohibits the administration of sacraments and blessings within a specified territory. It has been inflicted to punish a nation or city for its notorious disobedience or other crimes, and also to force some headstrong ruler to yield at least to the entreaties of his people.[1]

When pronouncing the interdict on France, in 1200, for the immorality of King Philip Augustus, *Innocent III* said in part: "Let all the churches be closed; let no one be admitted except to baptize infants, or when the priest shall come for the Eucharist and Holy Water for the use of the sick. We permit Mass to be said once a week, on Friday, to consecrate Hosts for the Viaticum, but one server only is to be admitted. Let the clergy preach on Sundays in the vestibules of the churches. Let them not permit the dead to be interred (*i.e.* with the ceremonies of the Church), nor their bodies to be placed unburied in the cemeteries. Let them not bless the wallets of the pilgrims except outside the churches."[2] This interdict, though imperfectly observed, produced the desired effect. The voice of the people became so loud that the king had to give up his wicked life.

148. The veneration for the Saints and their relics was a characteristic of the times. It came very natural to the medieval mind that he who loves God must needs love those who love Him. Each region and town had its special patron. The places where the remains of Saints reposed were the goal of pilgrimages, which the faithful undertook, to atone for sins, to obtain favors, to return thanks for benefits received. The Christian countries were dotted with such shrines. The pilgrims went singly or in groups or in organized processions. Before setting out they received "the pilgrims' blessing" in the church. In many places they found hospices ready to shelter and care for them. Kings and other prominent persons often established such houses for the pilgrims of their nationality. Thus Irish hospices were spread over the whole continent.

[1] See Guggenberger, I, § 539. [2] Ogg, *Source Book,* p. 382.

The Middle Ages, though great in some branches of knowledge (§ 266 ff.), had not much of a critical spirit. With childlike simplicity they accepted what was told them, especially when it seemed to redound to the honor of some Saint. In many cases these stories showed more what the people thought of the Saint than what had really happened. "Fake" relics also found veneration, though never against the better knowledge of the heads of the Church. Nor is the number of false relics nearly so great as some writers would have us believe. The

York Cathedral. — Gothic style (§ 278). Built in its present shape, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Considered the finest ecclesiastical building in England.

Church takes every possible care to make such pious frauds impossible. No relic may be publicly venerated without the approval of the bishop. Finally, the veneration is, as Pope Pius X points out in his Encyclical against Modernism, by its very nature conditional, that is, it is rendered on the understood supposition that the relic is genuine.

149. The monasteries and their inmates are an essential feature of medieval life. It was an age of religious enthusiasm. Many were not satisfied with the fulfilling of the common duties of Christians. They desired to show more generosity to their God and to serve Him more exclusively, or to do more penance

for their sins and the sins of the world (§ 60). Hence the monasteries never lacked recruits ("novices"). Men and women of all ranks, royal personages included, entered the convents and bound themselves by the three vows to another kind of spiritual freedom. The monasteries rose on hilltops, in secluded valleys, or in and near towns. Their midnight bells roused their thousands of inmates from slumber to sing, in the stillness of the night, the praises of their Creator. Their daily work was again interrupted by the hours of prayer, while the very life, as regulated by the Rule, meant a constant victory over the cravings of nature. A peculiar dress distinguished the monks from the rest of the people. Commonly it was the attire worn by the poorer classes at the time when the Order was founded.

The convents were constantly increasing in number. Rich persons would endow such houses of prayer in thanksgiving for divine favors, or as a memorial for their deceased relatives, or with the intention that their own souls after death be remembered by the inmates. Abbey churches were the resting places of the dead of many a princely family.

The monks and nuns continued to be educators. It was a very common custom that the daughters of the higher classes should receive their schooling in the retirement of a convent. By educating these girls, says a Protestant historian, the nuns did more for the development of genuine womanhood than all the rules of etiquette and the chivalry of the knights and all the effusions of the troubadours and minnesingers could have achieved.

150. New Religious Orders. — (*a*) In the course of time certain features of religious life were emphasized more explicitly in the foundation of new Orders. A Burgundian nobleman founded the Order of the *Cistercians*, which devoted itself to the practice of a rigorous penance. It became famous chiefly through St. Bernard of Clairvaux, the preacher of the second Crusade and one of the greatest men of the twelfth century. The *Carthusians*, founded by St. Bruno of Cologne,

combined the life in a community with the eremitical or hermit life. The members dwell in separate cells clustered around a court, observe the strictest silence and assemble only for meals and for services in the church. Once a week the silence is relaxed for a few hours of recreation. St. Norbert wrote the Rule of the *Premonstratensians* in whom he aimed to unite monastic sanctity with the work of the secular clergy. The Cistercians and Premonstratensians were the chief instrument of the Church for the Christianization and civilization of the now German countries east of the Elbe. All these Orders had adopted the principle of centralization, that is, their several houses were under one general superior.

This principle had been tried in an earlier period. In the course of time the possessions of the monasteries had increased very much, partly through the incessant labor of the monks, partly by the general appreciation of all property in value, partly through the donations of benefactors (§ 119). This occasionally led to a loss of the primitive spirit. Interference of the secular power with the right of the monks to elect their own abbot often had the same sad effect. One of the successful efforts to restore the first fervor was the *Congregation of Cluny* established in A.D. 910. It consisted of a number of Benedictine monasteries united under the " mother-abbey " of Cluny, a convent in Northern Burgundy. The monks took their vow of obedience not to the head of their own house but to the Abbot of Cluny. The latter had full power to examine into the conditions of each abbey and to set things right if necessary. This Congregation, which is much older than the above-mentioned new Orders, exercised a widespread influence on the monastic houses and on the reform of the Church at large. At one time it counted about two thousand abbeys in all the countries of Christendom. *Similar Congregations* were formed by other Benedictine institutions, though they did not give up their identity in the same degree. In the eleventh century there began a new influx of Irish monks into Germany. They were hospitably received and endowed with large properties. This is the origin of the Congregation of the so-called *Scotch Convents* (§§ 45, 62) which for some time recruited themselves from Ireland.

(*b*) **Who Establishes Religious Orders?** — Divine Providence commonly inspires some private person with the desire of originating a new monastic organization for a certain purpose, showing him more or less definitely what kind of life its members should lead. The person will then gather others around him who are filled with the same spirit, and in a private way they will begin to live like religious and

practice the principles they lay down for themselves. So far there is no real religious Order. They will have to apply to the ecclesiastical authorities, ultimately to the pope. What is commonly called the approbation of an Order is in reality its foundation. The pope is the supreme superior of all existing religious Orders, and the one to whom the vow of obedience is made in the last instance. *Religious Orders are not private pious cliques but an integral part of the organization of the Church.* The pope's ruling power is the source from which all their rules and constitutions draw their binding force. In the case of the oldest Orders the approbation was often given by way of fact, that is by not opposing but praising it, rather than by express words in the shape of official documents.

SECTION III. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF EUROPE TO THE END OF THE CRUSADES

CHAPTER VIII

ENGLAND TO THE END OF THE CRUSADES

A. The Last Saxon Kings

151. Part of a Danish Empire. — In § 116 we left England united under Edgar the Peaceful (959–975). In the long fight against the Norse invader, under the great Alfred and his sons and grandsons, Angle, Saxon, Northumbrian, and Mercian had learned to look upon themselves as Englishmen, — citizens of one country. The many Teutonic states in Britain had at last been fused into a true "England," — though bitter feuds did sometimes still break forth between Englishmen of the north and Englishmen of the south.

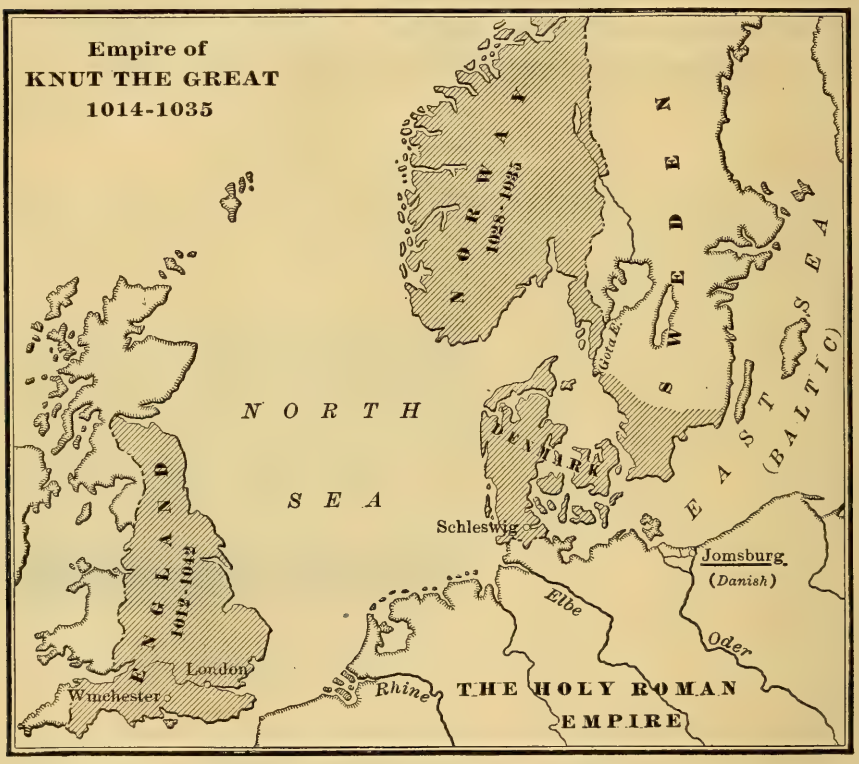
Anglo-Saxon Plowing. — From an Anglo-Saxon manuscript in the British Museum, London.

During the first years of the next century the ruler was a weak man, Ethelred the Redeless;[1] and the island was conquered by Swegn, king of Denmark, and his son *Knut.* This Danish attack was wholly unlike the invasions in the time of

[1] *Ethelred* means "noble counsel." This nickname meant "the man without counsel."

Alfred. Denmark had now become a Christian kingdom; and Knut, who was master also of much of Norway, made England part of a great Scandinavian empire (1016–1035).

At the same time he showed himself an English king in feeling. He lived mainly in England, and dismissing his Danish army, he rested his power upon the good government



he gave to the realm. While in Rome on a pilgrimage, he wrote a noble letter to his English subjects: "I have vowed . . . to rule justly and piously. If I heretofore have done anything unjustly, through the headiness or carelessness of youth, I am ready, with God's help, to amend it utterly."

152. Edward the Confessor. First Norman Influence. — Knut the Great was succeeded by his sons, who proved very

unlike him in morals and ability. After seven years the northern empire was broken up entirely. The Witan[1] of England restored the Saxon line by electing Edward,[2] son of Ethelred and a Norman princess. Much of his life had been spent in Normandy. Save a war with Scotland his reign was free from foreign complications. He strove to promote the welfare of his people by a strict administration of justice, the abolition of heavy taxes, and an open-handed generosity to the poor. He encouraged the spread in England of the reformatory ideas of Cluny (§ 150). For this purpose he promoted Norman clerics to important English bishoprics and abbeys (§ 102 (3)). Normans were employed, too, in minor administrative positions. Thus an immigration of Normans began under his reign. This, as well as the fact that not all his appointees justified the confidence placed in them, was a pretext of much trouble and of open rebellion. Edward lacked the necessary firmness to suppress these disturbances. Still in spite of his weakness the people long after clamored for the "laws and customs of good king Edward."

153. The Norman Conquest. — Edward the Confessor left no son. The English Witan chose *Harold,* the most powerful of the Saxon noblemen, though not of royal descent, for their king. He was said to have been recommended by Edward. But *William, Duke of Normandy,* claimed the throne on the ground of distant relationship and of a promise from Edward, and because Harold on some former occasion had taken an oath

[1] The "Folk-moot," that is, the meeting of all the free men, survived in local government only. (See §§ 155–157.) The *Witan* or *Witenagemot* was an assembly of the "wise men" of the kingdom, namely, the great lords and ecclesiastics. The later "Great Council" practically consisted of the same men (§ 183).

[2] This St. Edward is called "The Confessor" to distinguish him from his uncle, St. Edward the Martyr. Those saints who have not shed their blood for Christ are given the title "Confessor," which in this case has nothing to do with the sacrament of confession. (See also *Catholic Encyclopedia* under "Confessor.")

of fealty to him. He had moreover convinced the pope that he would be a better champion of ecclesiastical discipline than Harold, whose past did not seem to guarantee much zeal for the true welfare of the Church. William now prepared to make his claim good by arms.

"Harold, the Last of the Saxons," is however a gallant figure, whose tragic reign of forty weeks and one day adds a touching interest to the close of Saxon kingship. He was threatened from two sides. His own brother, Tostig, Earl of Northumbria, had been driven into exile by a popular rising. Harold refused to restore him. So Tostig stirred up Harold Hardrada, the adventurous king of Norway and one of the most romantic heroes in history, to attack England on the west, while William of Normandy prepared to invade from the south.

A NORMAN SHIP. — From the Bayeux Tapestry. The Bayeux Tapestry is a linen band 230 feet long and 29 inches wide, embroidered in colored worsteds, with 72 scenes illustrating the Norman Conquest. It was a contemporary work. (See § 132.) The banner is supposed to be the one blessed by the pope.

The Norwegian host, a fleet of three hundred ships, landed first, on the coast of Yorkshire. Harold was in the South, to meet the even more formidable force from across the Channel. Hurrying northward with his trusted household troops, English Harold overthrew and slew Norwegian Harold, in a desperate and brilliant battle at *Stamford Bridge*.

But meantime William had made his landing on the south coast near Hastings. Back hastened Harold, by forced marches, with his exhausted and depleted troops. The jealous nobles of the old Danelaw held aloof. Only the knights and husbandmen of Kent and Wessex rallied nobly to his banner. By a

stratagem he forced William to an attack, which brought on the battle of *Hastings* or *Senlac,* one of the world's decisive struggles. It gave a complete victory to William the Conqueror.

All day long the battle raged between two civilizations. The English strength lay in the mailclad family guards of the King. They wielded huge battle axes, and fought on foot, shoulder to shoulder, the King among them, behind a wall of overlapping long shields. *This was a*

Battle of Hastings. — From the Bayeux Tapestry.

splendid force to resist attack. The Norman strength lay in their mounted knights and men-at-arms, assisted by bowmen, — *magnificent troops to make an onset.*

Charge after charge of Norman horse failed to break the Saxon shield-wall. William's furious valor and personal strength, which had already won him fame on many a bloody field as the most terrible knight in Christendom, showed as never before, mingled with cool generalship and quick resourcefulness. Three times a horse was killed under him. Once his troops broke, and the cry went up, —" The Duke is slain." William tore off his helmet, to show his face, shouting with mighty voice, — " I live; and by God's help I shall conquer! ". And a blow from his mace struck down one of Harold's brothers at the foot of the English standard, the " Golden Dragon of Wessex."

Finally, at three in the afternoon, by feigning flight, William drew

part of the English troops from their impregnable position, in spite of Harold's orders, and then turning upon their disordered ranks, he rode them down in masses. Still the household troops stood firm about the King, and at six the fight swayed back and forth as stubbornly as ever about the Dragon standard. But the Duke brought his archers to the front, to pour their deadly shafts into the massed English array; and, as the sun went down, an arrow pierced Harold's eye. The combat closed, in the gathering dusk, with the slaughter of his followers over his corpse. William was left master of the kingdom.

The Norman conquest was one of the chief turning points in English (and American) history. Never since has a conquering people established itself in England. Briton, Roman, Saxon, Dane, had held the island in turn. Each had brought his peculiar contribution to its development. Now the Normans had conquered, because they were better equipped for warfare than the old English, and better disciplined. This same superiority they were to show in government.

B. The Norman Influence

154. The Normans found some institutions in Saxon England which had lasting influence on English and American life. — (1) *Anglo-Saxon local divisions.* — These local divisions were of three orders, — shires, hundreds, and townships.

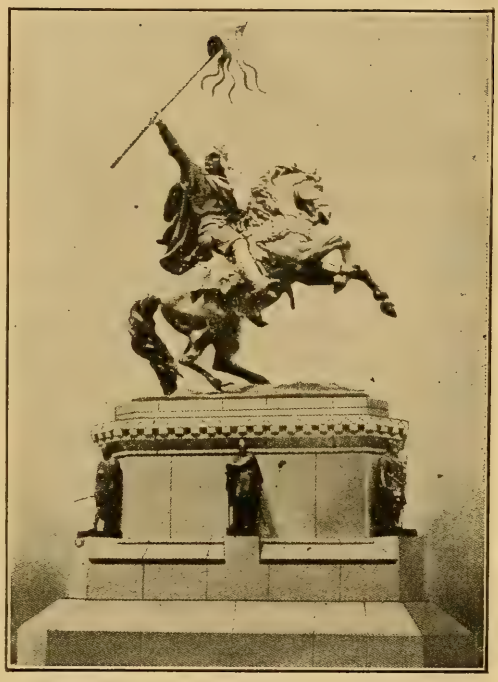
As Wessex had extended her sway over the island (§ 105), the smaller tribal kingdoms (Kent, Essex, and so on) had sunk into *shires*, and in the end all England came to be divided into about forty such units. Each had its shire-reeve (sheriff). In the Saxon period this officer, appointed by the king, had little power; but under the Norman kings he became much more important.

Before the tribal kingdoms sank into shires, they had possessed their own local subdivisions. These, or others formed in imitation of them, remained as subdivisions of the shires, and were known as *hundreds* (a name that survives for local divisions in Maryland and Delaware).

Each hundred was made up of *townships*, or *villages*. The chief village of each shire had usually grown into a fortified

"borough," a trading town, with some special privileges granted by the kings. Trade had raised some other villages into boroughs.

155. (2) *Anglo-Saxon Local Government. — The ordinary township had come to have little self-government.* Such powers as it had once possessed had passed mainly into the hands of some neighboring noble, to whom the village was coming to stand much like a "manor" on the continent. Boroughs had greater privileges. They were practically compressed hundreds so far as government was concerned.



Statue of William the Conqueror at Falaise, his birthplace.

The hundred was the busiest unit for carrying on government. It did its work in a "court" which met once a month. The *hundred court* was made up of the landlords, or their stewards, and the "reeve" (headman), priest, and "four best men," of each village. The sheriff of the shire, or more commonly one of his subordinates, and some representative of the bishop, presided. The court dealt with a great variety of matters. In particular, it settled disputes about land and other property, and tried criminal cases.

There was also a *shire court*, which met twice a year. This body was composed much as the courts of the various hundreds were. It tried appeals from the hundred courts, and decided many

matters of local government.[1] *It was in these self-governing courts of the shire and hundred that the old Teutonic freedom best survived.*

156. (3) *Anglo-Saxon Feudalism.* — Neither feudalism nor serfdom had developed in Saxon England in any such degree as on the continent. Still, even the larger units (shire and hundred), as well as the little townships, were coming under the influence of local nobles. Sometimes a lord secured from the king the right to hold a private court alongside the people's court of the hundred. Moreover, the freemen of the villages had been sinking in condition. After Alfred's time, it became necessary for each free villager to attach himself to some lord. At first, the purpose was merely to hold the lord responsible for the villager's obedience to the laws; but, in return for his responsibility, the lord began to exact small payments of various sorts from the villagers, and that class had begun to pass into the condition of villeins on the continent. This last change was greatly hastened by the Norman conquest.

157. The Norman Innovations. — (1) *Centralization.* — The Normans did not meddle much with the local institutions they found. Their genius for organization did build up a more effective *central* government, as we shall see shortly, and they checked certain weaknesses of the old *local* organization. There had been no good machinery to secure *uniformity* of government and custom in the different shires, or to compel obedience to the national laws. The Normans increased the authority of the sheriff, the king's especial representative, so as to meet these needs.

158. (2) *English Feudalism after the Conquest.* — Feudalism was already fully developed in Normandy. William introduced it into England as a complete system, but with certain changes which freed it from the worst evils.

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[1] Students should note that "court" in medieval history has a more extended meaning than in recent times. A "court" was concerned with any or all matters of government, — not merely with judicial business.

He first confiscated all the land of the kingdom, with legal formalities, on the ground that the landowners had forfeited their holdings as traitors, — since they had not willingly recognized him as king. Much of this land, especially that of Englishmen who had fallen in battle against him, went as royal fiefs to his followers. But most of it he granted back to the old holders who now became his own vassals. But he restricted greatly the power of all lords over their vassals and took care to render difficult any opposition of great feudatories against the crown.

Following are the principal checks put on English feudalism:

(*a*) The properties held by the great lords were scattered in different counties (shires). Thus each piece really became a surety for the lord's fidelity; and a great vassal could not easily gather his forces for any treasonable attack.[1]

(*b*) The chief authority in a shire was now exercised, not by an hereditary nobleman but by the sheriff appointed by the king (§ 156).

(*c*) William preserved the old national militia of shire and hundred, putting it under the command of the royal sheriffs. Thus the king was not wholly dependent upon the feudal levies. He even had a force to confront disloyal nobles.

(*d*) All the landowners of England, though most of them were some other lord's vassals, were now required to take an oath of fealty directly to the king, so that henceforth no Englishman could participate in any struggle against the crown without becoming guilty of treason (§ 125, 1).[2]

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[1] This fortunate arrangement came about probably not so much from design as from the fact that William really became master of the country only by degrees, and so had to reward his followers a little at a time.

[2] These changes in the feudal system made the king the sole real owner of English soil. There was now no more allodial property in England (§ 119). Even at present, in theory, all the English landowners are tenants of the crown; and their number is relatively very small, entire villages being owned by one individual.

159. (3) *The Church in Norman England.* In spite of the zeal of Edward the Confessor the Church was still suffering from the anarchy of prior reigns, and a number of ecclesiastics were unworthy of their positions. William put able Normans into their places. The See of Canterbury, the first of the country, which for nineteen years had been held by the illiterate and immoral Stigand, obtained one of its greatest archbishops in the person of the Norman monk Lanfranc. Thus the religious and literary life of the island came into a more lively contact with that of the continent. The Reform of Cluny (§§ 150; 102, 3) began to spread vigorously. To comply fully with the demands of the Canon Law (§ 143) *separate ecclesiastical courts* were established. William retained, however, the decisive influence upon the appointment of all prelates, and placed some restrictions on the exercise of episcopal jurisdiction. And though the active connection with Rome received great encouragement from him, he refused to give up the practice of investing bishops in the manner prohibited by Pope Gregory VII (§ 225). Taken all in all, the action of the Normans on the life of the Church of England redounded greatly to its advantage. "The Normans," says even a partisan of Harold, "revived the observances of religion which were everywhere grown lifeless. You might see churches rise in every village and monasteries in the towns and cities built after a style unknown before."

160. (4) *General results.* Until 1066 England had counted for little in the life of Europe. Its political relations were chiefly with the Scandinavian countries in the North. At home, since the days of Alfred the Great (§ 114) the two chief dangers had been the growth of feudal anarchy and the splitting apart of Danish England and Saxon England.

Now not only was there a lively religious and literary intercourse with the continent; but England's union, for several

generations (see § 163), with Normandy turned its policy towards the great European nations.[1]

Within the island, North and South were so strongly united that the two parts never again dreamed of separation, and a strong central government arose. The kings were now strong enough to keep down feudal tyrants, but not quite strong enough to become royal tyrants themselves. Dread of royal power was one of the causes which drew Saxons and Norman immigrants together.[2] They became fused into an English nation, which in centuries of slow, quiet, determined progress, won constitutional liberty. *To the old spirit of Saxon freedom, the Normans added a new genius for organization.* The local institutions to a considerable degree remained Saxon, but the central government owed its efficiency to Norman influences. England was the first country in the world to work out for a large territory *the union of a strong central government and of free institutions.*

161. The conquest also brought in new *blood*, a higher culture. and new elements in *language*. Norman lords and clergy, and likewise Norman merchants and artisans, flocked into England. All these people spoke their own Norman-French tongue, and for a time only the lowest classes spoke English. Gradually, the English gained its place as the language of the whole people; but meantime it lost its more complicated grammatical forms and was enriched by a multitude of Norman words.

C. The Four Norman Kings

162. William I, the Conqueror (1066–1087), was king by right of the sword; but he went through the form of an election by

[1] For some generations the rulers of England remained dukes of Normandy, and so great *vassals* of the French crown.

[2] The sharp distinction between the Norman and the Saxon had disappeared before the close of the Norman reigns (§ 165). Scott's *Ivanhoe* pictures a state of affairs in this respect which had passed away at least two generations before the time dealt with in the story.

an English Witan, and he ruled with much regard for English custom. Some of his chief work has been described. Among his other wise deeds was the taking of a great census to find out the resources of the kingdom and the dues payable to the king. This survey is recorded in *Domesday Book*, which gives us more exact knowledge about England than we have of any other country in that century. The population numbered some 1,200,000. One tenth of these are called "burgesses" (inhabitants of "boroughs"), though half of them dwelt in what we should call mere villages. The king's feudal army contained about 5000 knights (not 60,000, as some old English historians understood and taught).

William I, the Conqueror, stamped himself on the world's history, making it a far different thing from what it would have been without him. In his makeup there mingled strangely the wild passions of his barbaric Norse ancestors and the cool caution and shrewdness of a modern statesman. His person was gigantic, his strength enormous, his will knew no pity, and his outbursts of anger made his closest counselors tremble. "Great awe men had of him," says the English chronicler of the period, "[he was] so harsh and cruel, that no man dared withstand his will." But the same conquered English writer fails not to praise the "good peace" William's stern pitilessness made, "so that a man might fare over his realm with a bosom full of gold."

163. William II and Henry I. — William, by will, left Normandy to his eldest son Robert, and England to his second son *William Rufus* (the Red). This prince (1087–1100), too, to strengthen his claim, procured an election from the English Assembly. (See § 152, note.) "In his days all justice sank, and all unrighteousness arose." He was finally killed mysteriously and interred without the ceremonies of the Church.

Henry I (1100–1135), the youngest son of the Conqueror, also obtained an election. He issued a Charter of Liberties, which

a hundred years later was to become the model for a much more important document. By force and intrigues he wrested Normandy from his good-natured brother, Duke Robert, and acquired the County of Maine in France. From his (if not from earlier) times dates the "*King's Court*," composed of a few able men, to supervise the finances, and also to serve as a supreme court of justice. From time to time Henry I sent members of this Royal Court into distant parts of the realm to look after his interests and administer justice in his name. The people gave to Henry I the honorable title of "Lion of Justice," though he ruled much like an absolute monarch.[1]

Under William II and Henry I the "Contest about Lay-Investiture" was fought out in England (§ 230).

164. Stephen. — After Henry I's death his nephew Stephen secured the election. He was weak by nature, and his reign was distracted by civil wars with the supporters of Henry's daughter Matilda. Feudal anarchy seemed to have at last seized upon the land. The contemporary chroniclers bewail the misery of the age with bitter phrases:

"Every powerful man made his castles, and when they were built they filled them with devils and evil men; they put men in their dungeons for their gold and silver, and tortured them with pains unspeakable . . . and it was commonly said that Christ and his saints slept."

165. The four Norman reigns may be summed up briefly thus: William I, conquest, consolidation, provision against feudal disintegration; William II, tyranny; Henry I, a charter, and beginnings of judicial organization; Stephen, anarchy and civil war.

Observe that the three successors of William I all had rivals for the throne, and so were kept in some measure in dependence upon the nation.

Special Reports. — The Domesday Book; a fuller story of the Norman Conquest, with the harrying of the North; the making of the New Forest.

[1] On the Conquest and the Conqueror see Guggenberger, I, §§ 357–372, 400–410.

D. The Plantagenet Kings

166. Henry II, 1154–1189. — Matilda had married Geoffrey, Count of Anjou, a province of France. Geoffrey commonly wore in his cap a sprig of the broom plant (*planta genesta*), and this pleasing habit gave to his family the surname, *Plantagenet*.

At twenty, Henry, the son of this marriage, had landed in England, to make good his claim to the throne against Stephen. But Theobald, the aged Archbishop of Canterbury, brought the rivals to terms. By the treaty of Wallingford it was agreed that Stephen should keep the crown during his life, but that he should recognize Henry as his heir. This bargain was kept. Stephen died the same year, and Henry II quietly succeeded.

Henry's stout body and broad shoulders rose from bowed legs, and were topped by a bull neck and a round head with fiery face and bulging eyes. He wore his hair cropped close, among the long-haired nobles of the court, and was careless in dress, rough and hurried in manner, and exceedingly sparing in food and drink. He had a memory that forgot no detail of business, a strong will that held steadfastly to his plans, and great physical strength which enabled him to keep tirelessly at his task while servants and attendants dropped with fatigue. He delighted in the conversation of the learned. Yet he was grossly immoral, liable to descend to the basest artifices if they furthered his ends, and exceedingly jealous of every kind of authority which did not come from himself and was not subservient to his will. When roused by opposition he would rave like a madman.

167. Henry II was one of the most powerful rulers in Europe. — England was only a part of his territories. Through his mother he was Duke of Normandy and Count of Maine; through his father, Count of Anjou and Touraine. A shadowy claim upon Brittany he converted into real overlordship. By marriage he had obtained Aquitaine, which then included

Poitou and Gascony. Thus *he ruled more than half of what is now France — and six times as much French territory as was then held directly by the French king.*

True, Henry II held these French provinces, in name, as a vassal of the king of France. In fact, he thought of himself chiefly as a French prince with important possessions in the neighboring island. So, too, others thought of him in that day. Out of his thirty-five years of kingship, only about a third were spent in England; and these, a few months at a time. None the less, he proved one of the greatest, and, in spite of his egregious blunders, one of the most beneficent of all the English kings.

Before his death, Henry had still other possessions. He began the English conquest of Ireland. (See § 171.) For a time, he held Scotland in imperfect subjection, her king his imprisoned vassal. And the conquest of Wales went on slowly but steadily, as in every strong English reign.

168. Henry II and Feudal Disorder. — The first task of the new king was to restore order. During the long civil wars, both sides had brought swarms of foreign mercenaries into England. These bands paid themselves by plundering the country, and they were still ravaging at will. Henry drove them out or hunted them down. Then the new castles which had risen in Stephen's time, and which had so often become strongholds for the oppression of the people, were demolished. Henry called the " Great Council " more frequently in order to interest the nobility in the government and welfare of the country.

Henry II took two measures to decrease *permanently the military importance of the feudal lords.* (1) A law known as the *Assize of Arms* again revived the old militia (§ 158, *c*). Those who held land of their own were to be arrayed in coat of mail and helmet, and armed with lance and shield; poorer men must have at

least helmet and lance. All had to hold themselves always ready for service at the summons of the royal sheriffs.

(2) The subvassals (knights) of the great lords were excused from military service, on condition of a money payment to the king. With this fund, called *scutage* (shield money), the king could hire trained professional soldiers, more reliable and effective than the unwieldy feudal armies (§ 122, 1). Thus the king became more independent of the great nobles, and these in turn were no longer obliged to furnish their feudal levies. The knights, too, turned their attention in part away from fighting, and became interested in farming their lands and especially in the business of the shire courts, — so that they were soon spoken of as "knights of the shire."

169. Henry II and the Church. (I.) The Constitutions of Clarendon. — Henry II could brook no power that did not emanate from himself. The independence and privileges of the clergy were a thorn in his side. He intended to secure once for all the so-called "rights" which his predecessors, contrary to Canon Law and in spite of the protest of Church authorities, had at various times usurped and which were styled "the royal customs." He made his chancellor, Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury and thereby Primate of England. Thomas had been the king's trusted friend and adviser, and a gay companion at the banquet table and in the hunt. But with his consecration as archbishop he became a changed man — he became *St. Thomas*. He rigidly removed all luxury, wore a hairshirt next his body at all times, and observed most conscientiously the rules which regulate a bishop's life. The king, to his utter surprise, found in him a fearless champion of the rights of the Church.

A cleric had committed an offense against the king, and Henry II thought that no condign punishment had been given in the ecclesiastical court. In his wrath he now resolved to put the relation between Church and State upon an entirely new basis.

A Great Council was called and the king laid before it the *Constitutions of Clarendon,* in which were embodied what purported to be the " royal customs." The Council was to declare them the law of the land.

The chief points were these: (*a*) The revenues of bishoprics, abbeys, etc., were to go to the king from the death of the incumbent until the election of his successor. (*b*) The election was to take place in the king's chapel, with the advisers appointed by the king, and not before the king himself had summoned the electors. (*c*) The royal courts were to define whether a criminal case belonged to the secular or ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and if found guilty in the Church court, the criminal was to be tried over in the secular court.[1] (*d*) No direct vassal of the king or any of his household officers should be excommunicated without the king's permission. (*e*) No bishop or archbishop should go beyond the sea without the king's permission (to prevent complaints being made about the king in Rome). (*f*) Appeals from English courts to the pope, too, required the royal permission. (This point the king later explained to have reference to civil causes only.)

It is evident that with the enactment of such laws the Church in England would be completely at the king's mercy, though the possibility that he might give the desired permissions still kept it from an accomplished schism. The " royal customs " certainly made the sovereign the chief regent of the Church instead of those whom the Holy Ghost appointed to rule it.

170. (II.) The Opposition of St. Thomas.—In the Assembly the bishops naturally shrank from consenting to such enslavement. Henry in great rage had the door of the next apartment thrown open. There they beheld a body of knights with drawn swords, waiting for the signal to massacre the prelates. To avert

[1] This was greatly to the interest of the judges themselves, because the principal share of the fees, fines, etc., went to them. See also § 143 on "clerical privileges" and § 159.

bloodshed the primate now yielded to the entreaties of bishops and lords and put his name to the fatal document. But he repented directly, wrote to Rome for absolution, and at another session of the Great Council retracted publicly and solemnly. He was the only bishop that did so. The king's anger was terrible. Thomas fled to France, while Henry seized his ecclesiastical and private property. Even his innocent relatives and friends with their whole families, about four hundred persons, were robbed of all their possessions, driven out of the country, and forced to swear that they would go to the primate and implore him to satisfy the king.[1] It must be said to Henry's credit that he does not seem to have sided with the anti-pope against Alexander III (§ 208).

The urgings of Alexander III and the fear of spiritual punishments finally prevailed on him to come to some understanding with St. Thomas and to allow him to return to Canterbury. But his former sentiments soon awoke again. Four of his knights took his angry words as a desire to see the troublesome prelate done away with. They hastened to Canterbury and killed Thomas in his cathedral, A.D. 1170. Henry disclaimed having given any such order, and of his own accord did public penance at the tomb of the martyr and canceled the obnoxious Constitutions of Clarendon. The martyr's death was the victory of his cause.

The people of England felt that St. Thomas had fought for their own liberty while upholding the rights of the Church. He became one of the most popular Saints and his tomb the goal of countless pilgrimages in England and from abroad.

171. Henry II's Expedition to Ireland. — This enterprise falls between the death of St. Thomas Becket and the public penance performed by Henry at the Saint's tomb.

[1] Another instance of Henry's cruel vindictiveness is related by Lingard. In one of his wars against Wales he had received a number of the children of Welsh princes as hostages. When the Welshmen, provoked as they said

After the battle of Clontarf in 1014 (§ 102) the Danes made no more inroads into Ireland. But the victory brought no political unity. There was strife and conflict between the tribes and parts of tribes almost incessantly.

Shortly before A.D. 1170, Dermot McMurrough, king of the Province of Leinster, " who combined zeal for founding churches and encouraging learning with a ferocious cruelty and licentiousness," was forced to flee the country. With the permission of Henry II he obtained the assistance of some Anglo-Norman knights, chief of whom was Richard Strongbow. By their aid Dermot repossessed himself of his kingdom and allowed his friends to occupy Dublin and its surrounding. Both the rapacity of these adventurers and jealousy of their success impelled Henry to cross over himself, 1171. He fought no battle but redressed some grievances of the natives and tried to win them by the display of his army, by condescension, and by the splendor of his court. An assembly of Irish chieftains at Waterford recognized him in some vague terms as their lord. He left the following spring and almost his first act was the reconciliation with the pope and the penance at St. Thomas' tomb.

172. Again the Irish failed to effect a strong union of their forces, though the Anglo-Normans from now on made little or no progress. The latter retained their hold, however, on a district in the Southeast of Ireland with the city of Dublin. This was subsequently called *the Pale.* Its boundaries shifted as the power of the invaders increased or relaxed. But the English king continued wearing the title of *Lord of Ireland.*[1]

173. The most important of Henry's reforms had to do with the administration of justice.—*The King's Court* established by Henry I (§ 163) still existed, but as the supreme court of justice it had lost much of its importance. It was hardly

by outrages, renewed the war, he had the eyes of the boy hostages put out and the noses and ears of the girls cut off. (Vol. II, p. 145.)

[1] Guggenberger, I, §§ 499–503.

more than the feudal court for the king and his immediate vassals. Henry II again made it accessible to all free Englishmen, in particular to those in danger of being dispossessed by their lords. He divided England into six districts, into each of which three judges from the King's Court were sent at stated times. These were the *Circuit Judges*. It was indeed their primary duty to secure the king's revenues, which were collected with the utmost rigor. But they were also empowered to represent the monarch by doing justice whenever any man appealed to them. This again helped to enrich the royal coffers by the fees demanded or offered for taking up a case or proceeding with it.

The system had three important effects. It served greatly to unify English law and to prevent the growing up of as many codes of law as there were local courts (§§ 154–156). The royal judges, moreover, were likely to administer justice more independently than were those of the shire or hundred or the feudal authorities. Finally the institution brought the king's judicial assistance to the very door of every Englishman. No other country in Europe could boast of such a system. Purged of abuses the circuit courts still exist as part of the English judiciary, and have been adopted by the framers of the American Constitution.

From the decisions of these various courts developed a system of law, unwritten but none the less uniform, the *Common Law*, which is the basis of most of our American justice.

174. The Method of Trial in the Courts. — In most civilized countries the court trials are generally carried on with the assistance of a **Jury**, that is, there are besides the judges twelve other men selected from among the citizens. They listen to the witnesses and thereupon answer the question whether, from the evidence presented in the court, the accused person is guilty or not. By doing so they really act as judges, though they are not so called. If they declare the man guilty, the

judge imposes the penalty. These men are styled *Jurors* or Jurymen, which means persons that have sworn, namely to pronounce a just verdict. They are, however, the *Petty Jury*. Preceding the trial there has been the action of the *Grand Jury*, whose province it is to see whether it is advisable to have the man tried at all.

This system, under one form or other, is very old. Traces of it are found even in the ancient Teutonic customs. But the beginnings of its present form date from Henry II. His Norman predecessors already had appointed similar boards to decide cases in which the king's property interests were involved. Henry II extended it to the *civil cases* (questions of property) of all the freemen. He also ordered that in *criminal cases* such juries should present suspected offenders to the court for trial. This is what our Grand Juries do now. Thus persons too mighty to be accused by individuals could be haled into court. The trial was still carried on by ordeal (§ 66). But when the ordeals were more and more abandoned and even condemned by the Church, a smaller jury was summoned for the trial. This trial jury at first acted both as witnesses and as judges. But since they were allowed to call in other witnesses, it became the rule for them to act as judges only. — In spite of many undeniable shortcomings this system is rightly considered as a guarantee of popular liberty and a means of inspiring the people with confidence in the verdicts of the courts.

175. The Closing Years of Henry II were darkened by domestic troubles. The feudal lords tried to cast off royal control. A powerful coalition was formed between this English feudal force, the king of Scotland, and the king of France. Henry's splendid generalship crushed his foes in detail; *and England had seen its last great uprising of feudalism against the national government.*

But Philip II of France, who had stirred them to treason, now intrigued ceaselessly with the remaining sons, Richard

and John. The dying king was driven to yield to their demands. As a condition of peace, a list of conspirators whom he was required to pardon was handed him. At the head stood the name of John, his favorite son. Indeed his partiality for John had driven Richard into arms against him. Thus John's name in the list of traitors was the last blow. The king sank into a deep melancholy. "Now," he said, "I care no more for myself or the world." Seven days later, when he felt that his end was near, he had himself carried into church, received the last sacraments and died at the foot of the altar.

176. Richard I, 1189–1199. — The great officers who had been trained under Henry II carried on his system of government with little change through the reigns of his two tyrannical sons. Richard "the Lion Hearted" cared mainly for military glory. He was a valiant, impetuous knight, but a weak statesman and ruler. Of the eleven years of his reign, he spent only seven months in England, and these solely to get money for foreign wars. Happily he was as careless as he was tyrannical; and, in his need of money, *he sold many charters of liberties to the rising towns.* He is remembered as one of the leaders of the Third Crusade (§ 243).

177. John (1199–1216) was an abler man than his brother, but a more despicable character. Three events mark his reign, — defeats by France, by the pope, and by his subjects. (1) Abroad, he lost Normandy and all northern France to the French king. (2) After a long quarrel with Pope Innocent III, John promised to redress the grievances of his subjects. And though not compelled by the pope, he even surrendered England to the pope to receive it back in a kind of semi-vassalage. (3) England wrested from his hands a charter of liberties, known as *Magna Carta* (the Great Charter). This third event demands fuller notice.

178. Magna Carta. — Toward the close of his reign, John's oppression and harsh exactions brought all classes of English-

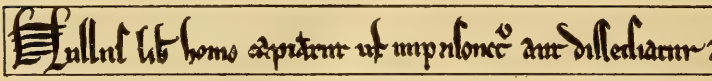
men to unite against him. In 1213, while he was warring in France, two mass meetings of barons and knights *and townsmen* gathered, to discuss redress of grievances. Amid stern enthusiasm, Stephen Langton, whom the pope had made Archbishop of Canterbury, brought before one of these gatherings the long-forgotten charter of Henry I. On this basis, Langton and the leaders of the nobles then drew up the demands of the meeting.

OPENING LINES OF MAGNA CARTA. (Reduced facsimile). — The characters in the margin are supposed to be the coats of arms of barons who signed as witnesses, but they are a later embellishment to the document.

John at first refused even to look at the document. But a mighty army of two thousand knights, supported by the townsmen of London arrayed in their "train bands," marched against him ("the Army of God and Holy Church"). John was deserted by all but a few foreign mercenaries; and, *June* 15, 1215, at a meadow of the Thames called *Runnymede*, he was forced to sign the Great Charter, — the "first great document in the Bible of English Liberties."

The Charter claimed only to state the old liberties of Englishmen, not to establish new ones. But it *set the law of the land above the king's will.* True, in some other countries, during

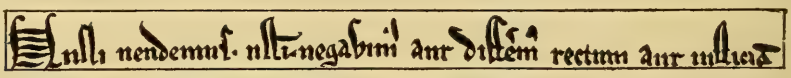
the Middle Ages, the great vassals extorted charters of liberties *for themselves* from their kings. But the peculiar features of this Charter are: (1) the barons promised to their dependents



Nullus liber homo capiatur, vel imprisonetur, aut dissaisiatur, aut utlagetur,
No free man shall be taken, or imprisoned, or dispossessed, or outlawed,

aut exuletur, aut aliquo modo destruatur, nec super eum ibimus nec super
or banished, or in any way destroyed, nor will we go upon him nor upon

eum mittemus, nisi per legale judicium parium suorum vel per legem terrae.
him send, except by the legal judgment of his peers or by the law of the land.



Nulli vendemus, nulli negabimus, aut differemus, rectum aut justiciam.
To no one will we sell, to no one will we deny or delay, right or justice.

SECTIONS 39 AND 40 OF MAGNA CARTA. The bars are facsimiles of the writing in the charter, with the curious abbreviations of the medieval Latin. Below each line is given the Latin in full with a translation.

the same rights they demanded for themselves from the king; and (2) special provisions looked after the welfare of townsmen and even of villeins.

The wording, necessarily, belongs to a feudal age; and the greater part of the document is concerned with the privileges of feudal vassals.

The Charter defined precisely the "aids" to which suzerains were entitled, — and so put an end to extortion. It declared that the king could raise no scutage (§ 168) or other unusual "aid" without the consent of the Great Council of England. All vassals of the king had a right to attend this Council; and so this provision established the principle, — no taxation without the consent of the taxed. It declared an accused man entitled to speedy trial, — and so laid the foundation for later laws of "habeas corpus." It affirmed that no villein, by any fine, should lose

his oxen or plow, his means of livelihood, and so foreshadowed our very modern laws providing that legal suits shall not take from a man his home or his tools.[1]

The Charter became at once the standard of freedom for the whole nation. In the next two centuries, English kings were obliged to "confirm" it thirty-eight times; and its principles, and some of its wording, have passed into the constitution and laws of every American state.

As time passed, and as a new society and new needs grew up, men read new meanings into the old language and made it fit the new age.

179. Henry III, 1217–1272. — John had no intention of keeping his word; and in a few months, as soon as he could make preparations, he began war to overthrow the Charter. His sudden death, however, left the crown to his nine-year-old son, Henry III. In the name of the boy-king, the great officers of the kingdom gave the Charter the first of its many solemn confirmations.

Henry III, gentle and credulous, warm in his attachments, forgiving in his enmities, pious, without vices, but also without energy, was a good man but not a good monarch. His lack of independent judgment made him the victim of favoritism. His incapacity, however, was productive rather of adversities to himself than of misery to his subjects. Under his weak but pacific rule the nation grew more rapidly than under any of his warlike progenitors. A relatively small part of his long reign was marked by the calamities of war. The nobles, unable to enrich themselves by the plunder of enemies or the ransom of captives, turned their attention to the improvement of their estates. Salutary enactments invigorated the spirit of commerce with other countries.

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[1] Robinson, *Readings in European History*, pp. 231 ff., gives the principal provisions of the Great Charter, with a report, from an ancient chronicle, how it was won. See also Guggenberger, I, 537–545.

Henry III's favoritism, which benefited chiefly foreign courtiers, was one cause of strong opposition. His financial demands for purposes which indeed must have seemed questionable was another. It united the disaffected elements and led to a formidable uprising under *Simon of Montfort,* who for about a year actually ruled in the name of the captive king. To secure himself in his position, Simon called the famous parliament of 1265, which will be spoken of later on (§ 183). But the king's son Edward, the later Edward I, rallied the royal party, and slew Simon in the battle at Evesham (1265); the promise to rule according to the system of Simon pacified the country.

180. Edward I, 1272–1307. — For the two centuries since the Conquest, every king had been a foreigner, — Norman or Angevin (from *Anjou*) in tastes and training. *Edward was English to the core.* He had even the golden hair of the old Saxon kings, and a favorite Saxon name, as well as a thoroughly English character. In his campaigns in France, Wales, and Scotland, he proved himself a great general; but, tall, deep-chested, long-limbed, skilled in arms, he was prouder of his fame as a knight, earned by desperate fighting in person on many a field against heavy odds. In his younger days, his passionate temper hurried him sometimes into the cruel sack of conquered towns. But he was quick to repent, — at times in a burst of tears; and in his old age he once said, "No man ever asked mercy of me and was refused." His shield bore for its device the motto, "Keep troth." He was a good son, a tender and wise father, a faithful and devoted husband, and one of England's noblest kings.

Edward wished ardently to unite the whole island of Britain into one kingdom. In this he won only a partial success. The conquest of *Wales* he did complete; and, to conciliate the Welsh people, he gave to his oldest son the title Prince of Wales, which has been borne ever since in England by the heir to the crown. For a time, too, *Scotland* seemed to submit

to Edward's arms and statesmanship; but the hero, *William Wallace,* and the patriot king, *Robert Bruce,* roused the Scotch people again to a stubborn and splendid struggle for national independence; and *the two halves of the island remained separate kingdoms for some centuries more.*

The true fame of Edward rests upon his work as a lawgiver and as an organizer of the courts of justice. In both respects, he extended and rounded out the work of Henry II.

The following section deals with a topic "hard" to recite upon but too important to omit wholly. It may be well for a class merely to *read* it with the teacher.

181. Further Development of the Judicial System. — It was chiefly the King's Court that became the object of Edward I's reform (§§ 163, 173). The functions of this "Court" were manifold, and it was designated by different names according to the work it was performing, though it always consisted of the same men. When it met to look after the king's revenue, it assembled in a treasury room, around a "chequered" table (marked off into small squares, for the convenient counting of the little piles of money which were laid upon it by the sheriffs). In such meetings, the court was called "the Exchequer." When hearing appeals from the circuit courts (§ 173), it was styled the "Court of Common Pleas" because the cases thus laid before it dealt mainly with questions of property between man and man (*civil* cases). To decide important *criminal* cases, a body of the members of the King's Court would take its place upon a particular "bench" in the hall where the whole court used to gather. This was known as the "Court of the King's Bench."

Edward I now broke up the King's Court entirely and established three wholly separate and independent Courts — the Exchequer, the Court of Common Pleas, and the Court of the King's

Bench — each one sitting in its own fixed place and devoted exclusively to its particular kind of business.[1]

Already Henry II had begun to assign the judicial work of the King's Court preferably to certain members. As the country advanced in civilization, matters of law made special legal knowledge more and more desirable. The number of trained jurists increased. The time had passed, too, when the knowledge of the laws was regarded as the almost exclusive privilege of ecclesiastics. Lay lawyers became numerous. Thanks to their greater efficiency the professional jurists were given preference in the appointment of judges, and from Edward I on they monopolized the supreme courts.

182. Like Henry II, Edward struck vigorously at feudalism — in four distinct ways.

He *widened the jurisdiction of his courts* at the expense of the feudal courts. A famous writ of *Quo Warranto* called upon every great noble to show "by what warrant" he held his estates and exercised judicial authority. In some cases such authority had been seized in times of disorder and had become established by custom merely. Even when a definite grant of jurisdiction had been made, along with the grant of lands, it was often hard to produce a record of it. But Edward and his courts held that unless an *express* grant of such power from some king could be proven, the authority must revert to the king's courts. This was the heaviest blow that feudalism had ever received. It went far to overthrow it, *so far as government was concerned*, in favor of a national government.

One of Edward's greatest laws was called *Quia Emptores*, from the two Latin words with which it opened. It provided that if thereafter a lord sold any of his land (or let it out in any way), then the new holder should not be his vassal, as formerly, but a vassal only of the next higher lord. In effect, this soon made the great mass of landowners into

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[1] This has remained the English judicial system down to modern times. Appeals could still be made to the king; and so grew up the later supreme jurisdiction of "the King in Council." Under Edward I, too, the Chancellor was authorized to hold a court for the purpose of doing justice in cases where it would not be done if the usual forms of law were followed strictly. Thus began the "equity jurisdiction" of the "Court of Chancery."

vassals only of the highest landlord, — tenants-in-chief of the king. *The landlord side of feudalism had lost its chief importance.*

Another great statute compelled all gentlemen who had an income of £ 20 a year from land to become "knights." This multiplied immensely the number of people in this proud order. Or rather, the feudal class lost itself in a much larger class. *Its social exclusiveness had gone.*

Edward's laws also revived Henry II's "assize of arms," and extended it, ordering that all men who could not provide themselves with armor for the national army should at least be ready to come with bow and arrows. The English long-bow had been becoming famous in the hands of forest outlaws (whose story is told in popular ballads, like the ones about Robin Hood); but Edward was the first English king to see the value of that weapon in regular war. Soon afterward, his archers won for him the pitched battle of Falkirk over the most gallant of Scottish chivalry. Unarmored infantry repelled armored horsemen. *The military supremacy of the feudal noble had received a fatal blow* — though even then few people really understood the fact until the victory of English archers was repeated on a larger scale in France somewhat later (§ 283).

We have been speaking of Edward's "laws." As Henry II carried his reforms through, extending the influence of the Great Council, so Edward carried his reforms in a long series of "statutes," enacted by a new national legislature which we call *Parliament*.

183. The Beginning of Parliament. — Some sort of an "Assembly" has always made part of the English government. Under the Saxon kings, the Witan (or meeting of Wisemen, §§ 152 note, 163) at times exercised great power, sanctioning codes of laws, and even deposing and electing kings. It consisted of large landowners and officials and the higher clergy, with now and then some infusion of more democratic elements.

After the Conquest, the Witan gave way to the *Great Council* of the Norman kings. This was a feudal gathering, — made up of lords and bishops, resembling the Witan, but somewhat more aristocratic. A king was supposed to rule "with the advice and consent" of his Council; but in practice that body

was merely the king's mouthpiece in ordinary times, until Henry II raised it to real importance.

Magna Carta gave it additional weight by providing that no military "tax" [1] should be imposed without the Council's consent. At the same time, the Charter prescribed just how the Council should be called together. As has been said (§ 182), all who held land directly of the king ("tenants-in-chief," or "barons") were entitled to be present, but only the "great barons" ever came. According to the Charter, thereafter the great barons were to be summoned *individually* by letter, and the numerous smaller barons *by a general notice* read by the sheriffs in the court of each county.

Still the smaller barons failed to assemble; and in the troubles of the reign of Henry III, on two or three occasions, the sheriffs had been directed to see to it that each county *sent* knights to the gathering. *Thus a representative element was introduced into the National Assembly.*

The principle of representative government was by no means new. It had taken root long before in *local* institutions. The "four men" of each township present in court of hundred or shire (§ 155) spoke for all their township. The sworn "jurors" of a shire who "presented" offenders for trial under Henry II spoke for the whole shire. The same principle was now applied in a larger, central gathering, for all England.

Simon of Montfort had seized upon this system of representation for wider usefulness (§ 179). The writs for the famous Parliament [2] of 1265, issued by Simon's direction while the king was in his power, called for the attendance of two

[1] The charter did not say "tax." Taxation proper had hardly begun. It did say that no "scutage," a sort of war tax (§ 168, 2), should be imposed without the Council's consent. Then, when a system of real taxation grew up, the principle was extended to all taxes.

[2] This name for the National Assembly had come into use shortly earlier. We use it now to distinguish the Assembly after the introduction of representation from the earlier "Councils."

knights from each shire *and also of two burgesses from each borough,* to sit with the lords and clergy. Thus was taken a great step toward changing the *Great Council of royal vassals* into a *" Parliament " representing the people.*

184. The Model Parliament, 1295. — In the years that immediately followed this deed of Simon, several national assemblies met, wherein towns and counties had some representation; but the exact form varied from time to time, and the powers of the representatives were slight and indefinite. It was found, however, that in granting contributions to the crown the representatives of counties and towns were remarkably liberal. Hence in the *" Model Parliament "* of 1295, *Edward I,* who for ten years had not summoned the Great Council, adopted Simon's plan of thirty years before. Each shire and each borough was called upon to send its two representatives, — since, as Edward's writ read, **" that which touches all should be approved by all."** From that time the regular representation of counties and boroughs became a fixed principle in the English national assembly. The assembly was, however, only in part representative. The great feudatories, both lay and clerical, came in their own name.

After half a century or so, Parliament began to sit in two " Houses." — At first all sat together in one hall. Had this continued, the townsmen would never have secured much voice: they would have been frightened and overawed by the nobles. The result would have been little better if the three estates had come to sit separately, as they did in France and Spain. With so many distinct orders, an able king could easily have played off one against the other. England followed a course of its own.

Edward summoned to his Model Parliament the " three estates " [1] — the clergy, the nobles, and the burgesses. The inferior clergy, that is, chiefly, the parish priests, very soon refused to attend. The great spiritual lords (bishops and abbots) were not numerous enough by them-

[1] "Estate," used in this way, means a "class" of people with distinct privileges and duties of their own.

selves to make an "estate," and so they took their place with the great lay lords. Thus, when the different orders began to sit in different halls, the great peers, lay and spiritual, who were summoned by individual letters, made a "House of Lords," while the representative elements — knights of the shire and burgesses, who had been accustomed to act together in shire courts — came together, in the national assembly, as the "House of Commons."

Thus the three estates faded into two; and even these two were not completely distinct. For in England, unlike the case upon the continent, only the oldest son of a lord succeeded to his father's title and nobility, and to the right to a personal summons to the House of Lords. The younger sons —and even the oldest son during his father's life—belonged in the gentry (gentleman) class, and at most were "knights of the shire." As such, oftentimes, the son or the brother of an earl sat for his county in the House of Commons beside the shopkeeper from the town. *The gentry in the Commons formed a link to bind Lords and Commons together.* This preserved good understanding between the two Houses, so that upon occasion they could act in unison in behalf of English liberty. The House of Commons, from the first, was much more than an "estate," and it was to widen, in time, into the representative of the nation.

185. "No Taxation without Representation." — His wars induced Edward I to demand high money contributions from his nobles, lay and ecclesiastical. The clergy protested vigorously because according to the existing laws of the Church they should not pay any taxes. But most of them were intimidated and later on really paid the amount. Pope Boniface VIII, urged at the same time by bitter complaints of the French clergy (§ 327), restated in the famous bull "Clericis Laicos" the old regulations in strong language. At the same time the lay lords of England, too, complained of the extortionate taxing by the king. Archbishop Winchelsey of Canterbury, who had never paid the tax, took his stand with the lay lords in their opposition. Armed with the papal document he was able to give greater force to their resistance. Edward I yielded. He again solemnly confirmed the Magna Carta with the additional promise, *never to impose* ***any kind of tax*** *without the consent of Parliament.* Thus was established in England's political life

the principle of "No taxation without representation," which was to play such an important part in the history of America.[1]

186. Parliament Deposes a King. — Even before this two-House form was established, Parliament gave one striking demonstration of its power. Edward II (1307–1327), son of the great Edward, was a weak and unworthy successor. Selfish and greedy favorites ruled through him, to the discontent and injury of the people. Finally, the nation rose against him, and Parliament deposed him with much legal formality. With the long reign of his son, Edward III, England emerges from the Middle Ages.

The authority of Parliament for ordinary times was yet to grow; but by 1340 (in the time of Edward III) the division into two Houses was effected. The framework of the national legislature was complete, like the framework of the judicial system a little earlier. In studying this growth, we have been studying more than *English* history merely. England has been the "Mother of Parliaments" for all countries which to-day have free governments.

Exercises similar to those suggested after § 218, but limited to England.

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[1] See Walsh, *Thirteenth Century*, pp. 372–374.

187. TABLE OF NORMAN AND PLANTAGENET KINGS[1]

(1) William I
1066–1087

- Robert, Duke of Normandy, d. 1106
- (2) William II (Rufus) 1087–1100
- (3) Henry I 1100–1135
  - William, d. 1120
  - Richard, d. 1120
  - Matilda = Geoffrey, Count of Anjou
    - (5) Henry II 1054–1189
      - Henry
      - (6) Richard I 1189–1199
      - Geoffrey
        - Arthur, d. 1203
      - (7) John 1199–1216
        - (8) Henry III 1216–1272
          - (9) Edward I 1272–1307
            - (10) Edward II 1307–1327
              - (11) Edward III 1327–1377
- Adela = Stephen, Count of Blois
  - (4) Stephen 1135–1154

[1] The kings are numbered. The symbol = means "married."

CHAPTER IX

FRANCE TO THE END OF THE CRUSADES

We now turn to the countries which once made up the empire of Charlemagne. The western part of the continent with its Roman and Carolingian traditions was the scene of those events, both secular and ecclesiastical, which most affected the history of the world for the next centuries. But it was no longer united. There were several realms in place of the empire of the great Charles. We shall take up first the kingdom of West-Frankland. (Review §§ 97–100.)

188. Accession of the Capetians. — During the inroads of the Northmen (before the foundation of Normandy; see § 102), *Robert the Strong* had defended the city of Paris, then a small town on a marshy island in the Seine River. His origin was obscure. According to some he was a Saxon by extraction. Robert's son, Odo, in turn heroically held the city throughout a siege of eleven months, carried on by the same terrible foe. Odo obtained the position of Duke of *Francia*, a district extending across the rivers Seine and Loire, and including the cities of Paris and Orleans. Francia was the principal section of Clovis' first conquest (§ 69). Like other parts of Charlemagne's realm, the western kingdom had broken up into a number of dukedoms and similar vassal states, such as Aquitaine, Burgundy, Toulouse, Brittany, Flanders, Champagne, some of them reviving the names of sections of the old Merovingian kingdom.

In 887 an assembly of the nobles of West-Frankland elected Odo, the Duke of Francia, king. For the next hundred years the crown passed back and forth between Odo's family and the last of the Carolingians. But in 987, after the death of the

Carolingian Louis the Sluggard (§ 99), Odo's grand-nephew, **Hugh Capet**, was elected. With him begins the line of the *Capetians*, which replaced the Carolingians. The name of Hugh's dukedom, Francia, was gradually extended to the whole kingdom (§ 98). This is the origin of the name of **France**.

It was the custom for a king to name a successor during his own lifetime, and then to have the nomination approved by the nobles. For three hundred years, however, each Capetian king was blessed with a son old enough to be capable of receiving the scepter directly from his hands, and, indeed, to be associated with him in the government during his lifetime. So, in the absence of conflicting claims, even the *form* of election vanished. *French kingship became strictly hereditary*, and the Capetian family ruled France until very recent days, when France ceased to have kings at all.

189. Reference Table: Capetian Kings to 1314, with Accession Dates.

Hugh Capet	987	Philip II (Augustus)	1180
Robert II	996	Louis VIII	1223
Henry I	1031	Louis IX (the Saint)	1226
Philip I	1060	Philip III	1270
Louis VI	1108	Philip IV (the Fair)	1285–1314
Louis VII	1137		

190. A "Feudal Kingship." — In 987 there was as yet no "kingdom of France." Hugh Capet was crowned "King of the Gauls, Bretons, Danes, Normans, Aquitanians, Goths, Spaniards, and Gascons." This title shows something of the composite nature of "France" at that date.

The election of Hugh did not increase his actual power. It did increase his duties, but his resources rested on his possessions as Duke of Francia. Several of the great vassals ruling over the rest of France were each almost as powerful as the king, and so far as they obeyed him at all, they obeyed him as their feudal suzerain rather than as a national king. He had no hold upon the subvassals (§ 125, 1) nor did he have a

EUROPE and the
BYZANTINE EMPIRE
about 1000
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400
KINGDOM OF NORWAY
Tunsberg
NORTH SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
KINGDOM OF DENMARK
Ribe
Lund
Roeskilde
Schleswig
Oldenburg
Hamburg
Bremen
Elbe
Stettin
NORTH MARCH
Brandenburg
Magdeburg
LAUSITZ
Meissen
M. of MEISSEN
SAXONY
FRIESLAND
Osnabruck
Utrecht
Munster
Paderborn
Erfurt
Cologne
Fulda
Frankfort
Prague
Bamberg
Wurzburg
Ratisbon
BOHEMIA
Passau
Augsburg
Salzburg
BAVARIA
Brixen
Villach
CARINTHIA
Belluno
Trent
Aquileia
Venice
Ravenna
Ancona
TUSCANY
STATES OF THE CHURCH
Siena
Sutri
Rome
Gaeta
Naples
Palermo
Messina
SICILY
Florence
Pisa
Nice
Genoa
Bologna
Milan
Pavia
Lodi
Roncaglia
Susa
Savona
LOMBARDY
Legnano
Verona
Genevra
Basel
Constance
Besancon
BURGUNDY (Duchy)
KINGDOM OF BURGUNDY
Autun
Dijon
Treves
Mayence
Worms
Metz
Verdun
Toul
LORRAINE
Strassburg
Ulm
Aix
Liege
Ghent
Brussels
Tras
Bouvines
Cambray
Amiens
LOWER LORRAINE
FLANDERS
Boulogne
English Channel
Calais
NORMANDY
Rouen
Caen
Reims
Paris
ISLE OF FRANCE
CHAMPAGNE
Orleans
MAINE
ANJOU
BRITTANY
Nantes
Tours
Loire
Troyes
Poitiers
Bourges
FRANCE
Limoges
AQUITAINE
Bordeaux
Garonne
Bayonne
Oviedo
Leon
KINGDOM OF LEON
Burgos
Zamora
Duero R.
Salamanca
CASTILE
K. OF PAMPLONA
NAVARRE
ARAGON
Ebro R.
Saragossa
Lerida
Barcelona
C. OF BARCELONA
GASCONY
C. OF TOULOUSE
Albi
Toulouse
Narbonne
Nimes
Rhone R.
Marseilles
Aigues-mortes
CORSICA
SARDINIA
BALEARIC IS.
Tagus R.
Toledo
Cuenca
Lisbon
CALIFATE OF CORDOVA
Guadiana R.
Cordova
Guadalquiver R.
Seville
Murcia
Cartagena
Granada
Malaga
Strait of Gibraltar
Tangi
Valencia
SARACENIC POSSESSIONS
MEDITERRANEAN
Algiers
Biserta
Tunis
ANGLO-SAXON KINGD.
SCOTLAND
Edinburgh
Durham
York
Chester
WALES
Cardiff
Norwich
Oxford
London
Canterbury
Hastings
IRELAND
Armagh
Kells
Dublin
Kildare
Limerick
Shannon R.
60
55
50
45
40
15
10
5
0
5
10
15
Long. West 5 of Greenwich
0
Long. East 5 of Greenwich
10

DUCHY OF BURGUNDY to France
C. OF BURGUNDY
Besançon
Basel
Dijon
Citeaux
Cluny
Lausanne
Geneva
Sion
Lyons
SAVOY
Chartreuse
Grenoble
DAUPHINY
Valence
LOMBARDY
C. OF PROVENCE
Avignon
Aix
Arles
Marseille
Nizza
Toulon
SUBDIVISIONS of BURGUNDY
PAPAL STATES
NOTE: After 1282 the kingdom was at times divided into the Kingdoms of Sicily and of Naples
Tagliacozzo
Rome
Lucera
Monte Cassino
Bari
Naples
Benevento (Papal)
Salerno
Taranto
Brindisi
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
CALABRIA
Palermo
Messina
Reggio
Syracuse
SOUTHERN ITALY About 1100
Esthonians
Livonians
Lithuanians
Prussians
MAZOVIA
Plock
Gnesen
Pinsk
Pripet R.
Tchernigov
RUSSIA
Kiev
Dniester R.
Dniepr R.
Don R.
Vistula R.
POLAND
Breslau
Oder R.
CHROBATIA
Cracow
Beltz
Halicz
Petchenegs
Uzes
KINGDOM OF HUNGARY
Pressburg
Erlau
Gran
Theiss R.
Funfkirchen
TRANSYLVANIA
Maros R.
Sirmium
Save R.
Belgrade
Danube R.
Vidin
Nicopolis
Tirnova
Peristhlava
Varna
Cherson
(conquered by the Varangians 988)
BLACK SEA
Sinope
Trapezus
SERVIA
Nissa
Ragusa
Diocleo
Scroda
Triaditza (Sofia)
Philippopolis
Adrianople
Constantinople
Amastra
Amasia
Colonea
Skopia
Dyrrhachium (Durazzo)
Achrida
BULGARIA
Salonica
Claudiopolis
Gangra
Sebasten
Nicomedia
Nicæa
Abydus
Prusa
Dorylæum
Caesarea
Bari
Brindisi
Castoria
Larissa
Adramyttium
EMPIRE
Amorium
Euphrates R.
Edessa
BYZANTINE
Smyrna
Sardis
Iconium
Podandus
Aleppo
Lepanto
Athens
Ephesus
Antioch
Corinth
Argos
Attalea
Side
Seleucia
Myra
Constantia
Homs
Tripoli
Paphos
CYPRUS
Chandax
CRETE
Damascus
SYRIA
Acre
PALESTINE
Jerusalem
ANCIENT SEA
EGEAN SEA
20
25
30
35
40
45
50

national militia. When he needed an army, his forces came (1) from his own immediate feudal followers in his hereditary duchy, and (2) from such of his great vassals as felt inclined to perform their duties of vassalage.

191. The Work of the Capetians. — Hugh Capet found France broken into feudal fragments, with varying laws and tongues. From these unpromising fragments, the Capetian kings in the next three centuries made a new French nation, with a common language, common customs, and a common patriotism.

Two outside forces helped the Capetians in this great work, the Church and the lawyers. (1) The Church felt the need of a strong king to protect society against the violence of greedy nobles. And in that day when bishops and abbots were themselves mighty feudal lords, the Church could give not only moral support but important material aid. (2) In the eleventh century the lawyer class rose into importance, especially as the advisers and clerical assistants of the nobles and kings (§ 181). They were trained in the Roman law with its imperial traditions (§ 63, note), and they built up a theory of absolute kingship which gave the kings moral support in every new claim for authority.

In the main, however, France was made through the shrewd, tireless, persistent policy of a long line of able kings who never lost sight of their goal.

"There is no other modern nation which owes so heavy a debt of gratitude to its ancient line of kings as the French. France, as it exists to-day, and has existed through all modern history, with all its glorious achievements, is their creation and that of no one else." — G. B. Adams.

192. "France" Wins the Northwest. — The first great advances were achieved by Philip II, whom admirers styled *Philip Augustus*, because, like the Roman Augustus, he had "enlarged the boundaries of the state." His reign covered the last ten years of Henry II of England, all of Richard's and John's reigns, and the early years of Henry III. When Philip came to

the throne, Henry II was still working vigorously and wisely to strengthen the national unity of England against feudal "decentralization." *But in France Henry was the chief obstacle to national unity,* — not because he was king of England, but because, as a great vassal, he held directly six times as much of France (§ 167) as Philip held directly. On all occasions, in France, Henry upheld the feudal privileges of the vassals against the crown.

It was natural that a French king should strive to stir up enemies, even from within his own household, against this too powerful vassal. Philip II set Richard on to make war against his father (§ 175); and when Richard had become king, Philip intrigued with his brother John. Finally, when John succeeded to the English crown, and so to the French fiefs, his follies and crimes gave Philip his long-sought opportunity. Philip's "court" of great vassals (§ 121, 2) summoned John to answer for his abuses; and, on his failure to appear, declared his fiefs forfeited to the crown. Philip II enforced this judgment by arms, so far as concerned Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Poitou. *The northwest quarter* of "France" was so added to the French crown, and the immediate territory of the French kings was quadrupled. At last, too, "France" reached the sea, with ports both on the Atlantic and the Channel. The King of England, as Duke of Aquitaine, still ranked among the most powerful French vassals, — along with the Duke of Burgundy, the Duke of Flanders, the Duke of Brittany, and the Count of Champagne.

193. "France" Gains the Southwest. — There had been another of the group, the great Count of Toulouse, most formidable of them all. But the time was near when this land also, from a practically independent vassal state, became an immediate possession of the crown of France.

In this case the success of the French kings came through the accident of a religious war. In the twelfth century there

I
At the time of Henry II, 1154
II
After the death of John, 1216
III
On the eve of the Hundred Years' War 1340
IV
At the close of the Hundred Years' War 1453
NORTH SEA
Irish Sea
English Channel
Mediterranean Sea
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
WALES
ENGLAND
CHANNEL IS.
CASTILE
NAVARRE
ARAGON
Calais
Boulogne
Bouvines
Rouen
Paris
Tinchebrai
Falaise
Le Mans
Orleans
Chinon
Poitiers
Limoges
Bordeaux
Peronne
Antwerp
Bruges
Amiens
Abbeville
Montreuil
Dieppe
Caen
Cherbourg
Nantes
La Rochelle
Angoulême
Périgueux
Clermont
Lyon
Grenoble
Marseilles
Nice
Toulouse
Carcassonne
Narbonne
Montpellier
Avignon
Perpignan
Pau
Bayonne
Toledo
Saragossa
Barcelona
Valencia
Seville
Cordova
Granada
Malaga
Gibraltar
Lisbon
Oporto
Coimbra
Santarem
Evora
Badajoz
Madrid
Burgos
Leon
Valladolid
Salamanca
Zamora
Santander
Oviedo
Corunna
Vigo
Algeciras
Tangier
Ceuta
Tarifa
Cape St. Vincent
Cape Finisterre
Cape Ortegal
Cape Bajador
Cape Blanco
Cape Verde
Canary Islands
Madeira
Azores
Balearic Islands
Majorca
Minorca
Ivica
Sardinia
Corsica
Sicily
Malta
Crete
Rhodes
Cyprus
Tripoli
Tunis
Algiers
Oran
Bona
Constantine
Biskra
Ghadames
Ghat
Fezzan
Sahara
Nile R.
Egypt
Cairo
Alexandria
Suez
Red Sea
Arabia
Mecca
Medina
Aden
Abyssinia
Nubia
Khartoum
Sennaar
Kordofan
Darfur
Wadai
Bornu
Lake Chad
Timbuctoo
Senegal R.
Gambia R.
Sierra Leone
Liberia
Cape Palmas
Gold Coast
Ashantee
Dahomey
Benin
Niger R.
Bight of Benin
Cameroons
Gaboon R.
Congo R.
Loanda
Benguela
Mozambique
Zambesi R.
Natal
Cape Colony
Cape of Good Hope
Table Bay
Orange R.
Transvaal
Kalahari Desert
Damara Land
Ovampo Land
Great Namaqua Land
Walfish Bay
Cape Cross
Angra Pequena
Cape Frio
Cape Negro
Cape Blanco
Cape Verde
Cape Palmas
Cape Three Points
Cape Formosa
Cape Lopez
Cape Negro
Cape Agulhas
Cape Recife
Cape Delgado
Cape Guardafui
Cape Bon
Cape Spartivento
Cape Matapan
Cape Malea
Cape Colonna
Cape Carbonara
Cape Corso
Cape Spada
Cape Passero
Cape Teulada
Cape Bianco
Cape Farina
Cape Vado
Cape Noli
Cape Mele
Cape Ferrat
Cape Antibes
Cape Croisette
Cape Sicie
Cape Couronne
Cape Creus
Cape Palos
Cape Gata
Cape Tarifa
Cape Trafalgar
Cape St. Vincent
Cape Espichel
Cape Roca
Cape Mondego
Cape Carvoeiro
Cape Finisterre
Cape Ortegal
Cape Prior
Cape Machichaco
Cape Figuier
Cape Creuse
Cape Gris Nez
Cape Blanc Nez
Cape La Hague
Cape Barfleur
Cape La Hève
Cape Antifer
Cape Fréhel
Cape Raz
Cape Clear
Cape Wrath
Cape Sheppey
Cape Dungeness
Cape Beachy Head
Cape Portland
Cape Farewell
Cape Race
Cape Breton
Cape Sable
Cape Cod
Cape Hatteras
Cape Fear
Cape Florida
Cape Sable
Cape Catoche
Cape Antonio
Cape Corrientes
Cape San Lucas
Cape Mendocino
Cape Blanco
Cape Flattery
Cape Disappointment
Cape Horn
Cape Pillar
Cape Deseado
Cape Virgins
Cape Blanco
Cape Frio
Cape St. Roque
Cape St. Augustine
Cape Frio
Cape Corrientes
Cape Negro

had been a period of decline in the Church (§ 219). This resulted in the rise of various sects of heretics. Without doubt the worst and most dangerous of them were the *Albigenses,* so called from the city of Albi in Southern France.

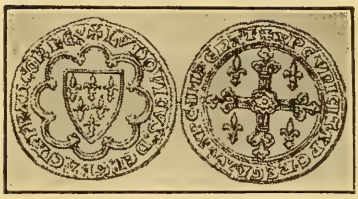
Their doctrines were indeed most pernicious. They denied the sacraments and the entire ecclesiastical hierarchy, and the power of the state to punish crimes. There were two classes of them, the *perfect* and the *believers*. The perfect were forbidden to marry or to eat meat or any animal products, and were obliged to observe rigorous fasts. The believers had only two duties; namely, the firm will of joining the perfect sometime before death, and the performance of certain acts of reverence when meeting one of the perfect. Whatever vices they indulged in would be forgiven upon their entering the ranks of the perfect. This transition was brought about by a ceremony called consolamentum, which they imagined gave them absolute certainty as to their eternal salvation, provided they fulfilled the duties of the perfect. Should they commit a grievous fault, they were irretrievably lost, because the consolamentum could not be repeated. To prevent a relapse their friends might resort to the simple means of killing them. Such cases were not at all rare. Often, too, they would starve themselves to death. It is easy to see to what relaxation of morals, to what excesses such a doctrine was bound to lead. The judgment of Innocent III, who declared the Albigenses worse than Mohammedans (§ 71), is none too severe.

The mighty Counts of Toulouse were the most ardent protectors of this detestable heresy. After all the means of kindness had been tried against the Albigenses for thirty years, Pope Innocent III (§ 231) called upon the Christian princes, including the King of France as the sovereign of the Count of Toulouse, to use force against them.[1] A war of twenty years followed, carried on with much perfidy on the part of the heretics and with cruelty on both parts. Antagonism against a closer union with the royal power in France had much to do with the

[1] See Guggenberger, Vol. I, §§ 546–550. The complete suppression of the Albigensian heresy in France and of similar dangerous errors in Italy was one of the purposes of the "Inquisition" (§§ 323–326).

fierce resistance offered by the Southerners. But during the reign of St. Louis IX the wars came to a happy termination. In 1229 the Count of Toulouse promised to give up every attempt at further protecting the heretics. Part of his county he ceded at once to the crown of France. And by the marriage of his daughter to a brother of King Louis IX the rest also entered into a more direct connection with Capetian France. At the opening of his reign Philip II had ruled directly a twelfth of modern France. King Louis IX's direct sway extended over more than two thirds of it. "France" had won its way to the Mediterranean.

194. Growth of the Absolute Monarchy. — As the kings acquired the soil of France, piece by piece, their realm outgrew the crude feudal system, and they had to create new machinery of government. And as they added territory to territory, so too they added authority to authority. Here, too, Philip II, Augustus, made a beginning. He divided the royal territory into great districts, and over these he set royal officers, usually of humble origin so that they could not aspire to independent power.



A Gold Florin of St. Louis IX.

His grandson, St. Louis IX, continued the work of organization. He, like the English kings, struck hard at feudalism, not because he hated the ancient institutions, but because he perceived their shortcomings and out of a sense of justice endeavored to remedy them. He entirely abolished the right of private feuds (§ 127), and greatly improved criminal justice by doing away with the judicial combat. He opened the king's supreme court to appeals from all the lower feudal courts. (See §§ 173, 182.) Thus he gradually concentrated the administration of justice in the crown. Similarly all the other branches of the government were reorganized by him. Philip IV, the

Fair, Louis IX's grandson, was of a different stamp. His unbounded selfishness did not shrink from any acts of the most crying injustice, rapacity, and violence (§§ 246, 327). But he, too, contributed his share towards the building up of the system of absolute government in France.

In each district the royal officer was given vast authority as a representative of the king. He appointed inferior officers, collected royal revenues, — including new taxes of a modern sort which Philip IV introduced, — and oversaw every detail of local administration. The feudal lords lost all power in government, except over their serfs and villeins. These classes found no gain in the changes in France, except in the greater quiet and freedom from war. But the small vassals and the townsmen did find escape from the rapacity and capriciousness of their old feudal lords.

In England this escape had come through the courts, the itinerant justices, and the free principles of the common law; as Englishmen grew to have an instinctive reverence for courts and law as the protectors of liberty. In France the like security came (a little later than in England) through the power intrusted to their officers by the kings.

195. The Estates General. — France, too, had its Great Council like England (§§ 185 ff.). Philip IV, the Fair, added representatives of the cities to those of the nobility and the clergy. In 1302, only a few years after the Model Parliament in England, these new "Estates General" had their first meeting. But the assembly was never more than a convenient taxing machine. Nor did the French people know how to value and utilize it as the English people did. The kings summoned the Estates General when they chose, and they easily controlled its actions. When they no longer needed it, the meetings grew rarer and finally ceased entirely.[1]

[1] The kingdom had twelve "Parliaments." But in France this name denoted a peculiar kind of courts of justice, though at times these parliaments

196. St. Louis IX has been spoken of several times in preceding sections. He is one of the noblest figures in medieval history. St. Louis possessed the piety of a child. Though a brave and brilliant knight (§ 137) and intrepid warrior, he was an ardent lover of peace, and never drew his sword except in a good cause and after all other means had been exhausted. In the beginning of his reign he was forced to struggle against unruly vassals. But it was almost always by negotiations ably conducted and agreements faithfully executed that he succeeded. We shall meet him again as a crusader (§ 245). His principles as man and as ruler are well expressed in his deathbed testament to his son Philip III, the Bold, of which the following is an extract.

"Fair son, the first thing that I teach thee is to mould thy heart to love God. If God send thee adversity, accept it patiently, and render thanks, and know that thou hast deserved it. If he send thee prosperity, thank him humbly, that thou be not worse through pride. Bear thyself so that thy confessor and friends may venture to reprove thee for thy misdeeds. Attend devoutly to the service of Holy Church both with mouth and mind. Let thy heart be gentle and compassionate toward the poor and the afflicted, and comfort them so far as in thee lies. Help the right, and uphold the poor man until the truth be made manifest [*i.e.* while the case is undecided]. Wage no war with any Christian prince, except it be necessary after grave deliberation. Be careful to have good provosts and bailiffs, and make frequent inquiries about them, and about all thy servants as to how they conduct themselves. Dear son, I bestow upon thee all the benediction a good father can give a good son. And may the blessed Trinity preserve and defend thee from all evil, and give thee grace to do the will of God."

Exercises like those following § 218 but on a smaller scale.

For Further Reading.—*Introduction to the History of France*, pp. 84–142; Guggenberger, I, §§ 342–347, 460, 537, 542, 546–553, 575–581.

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too, exerted a great influence upon the internal affairs of the realm. The mightiest was the Parliament of Paris.

CHAPTER X

GERMANY AND ITALY TO THE END OF THE CRUSADES

A. The First Rulers after the Carolingians

197. The German Dukedoms. — At the death of Louis the Child, the last of the Carolingian rulers in East-Frankland (§ 99), the actual power resided chiefly in the hands of the great dukes (§ 100). The names of *Saxony* (with *Thuringia*), of *Bavaria*, and *Lorraine* have occurred frequently. The name of Alemannia had changed to *Suabia*, to which belonged Alsace on the left bank of the Rhine. *Franconia*, a district in the center, was inhabited by Franks. All the dukes, like those in the western kingdom (§ 191), professed themselves vassals to the crown, but acted much as they pleased. Some even showed an inclination to break away entirely.

Most of these duchies represented each a separate tribe with its peculiar habits and customs. With the exception of the westernmost part of Lorraine the language of all of them was German, though not without strongly marked differences.

198. King Conrad I. — The dukes, together with the bishops and other prominent nobles, chose Duke Conrad of Franconia king. Though personally very energetic, pious, and able, he did not succeed, during his short reign of seven years, in curbing the power of his vassals and in defending the country from its two aggressive pagan foes, the Slavs and the fierce Hungarians (§§ 106, 108). On his deathbed he recommended Henry, Duke of Saxony, his personal antagonist, as his successor, passing over his own brother Everard. The latter with equal unselfishness announced this fact to Henry, whom it is said he found at his

favorite sport of hunting — hence Henry's surname, "the Fowler."

GERMAN DUKEDOMS ABOUT 900.
For the Kingdom of Burgundy see § 206 and map following page 204.

199. Henry I, the Fowler. — As Duke of Saxony he wielded considerable power. His private possessions, too, were very extensive. But it was a rare combination of vigor

and bravery with prudence and kindness which enabled him to unite the dukes and the great nobility with himself in close but friendly dependence. To the Hungarians he first paid a yearly tribute for a truce of nine years. During this time he hastened the wider adoption of armored horsemen, because this feature of feudalism had made little progress in Germany. To some extent he revived the old militia and established the so-called Merseburg Troops, a kind of standing army which was ever ready for the country's defense. A constant warfare against the Slavs furnished opportunities to gain military experience.

A lasting merit is the encouragement he gave to the development of cities. The few cities Germany then possessed were practically confined to those parts that had once belonged to the Roman Empire. They were situated south of the Danube or west of the Rhine, *e.g.* Cologne, Augsburg, Mainz. Henry now erected large walled forts and inclosed the more important places by walls. One out of every nine farmers was obliged to do guard duty in these fortifications, and provide shelter for the other nine, while these tilled his fields. The markets[1] and popular assemblies were to be held within the walls. All this helped to increase the population of these strongholds. Many of them grew into large and important cities. Soon the granting of municipal privileges still further strengthened the movement. For this reason later times gave Henry the noble title of "Builder of Cities."

When Henry refused any longer to pay the tribute, the terrible Hungarians poured over the border. But the well-organized army inflicted such a blow upon them that for years they preferred to leave Germany alone.

[1] In earlier times, the Teutonic peoples held their "markets" — meetings for exchanging goods — in open spaces on the borders between the two tribes that were trading. These border spaces were called "marks" ("marches"). Hence comes our word *market*, and also the word *march* (*mark state*) for a border state.

200. Otto I, the Great, took up his father's work. He still further reduced the power of the great dukes, chiefly by augmenting that of the bishops, abbots, and other ecclesiastics. Otto aspired to the position of a real king. This caused several uprisings, in some of which even his own sons were implicated. But he knew not only how to carry out his will but also how to forgive those who were willing to submit. Germany under his rule became a rather strongly consolidated kingdom, much more so than France, where the Capetians had not yet come to the throne, and more so even than England, where the House of Alfred was still busied in reducing the Danelaw to submission.

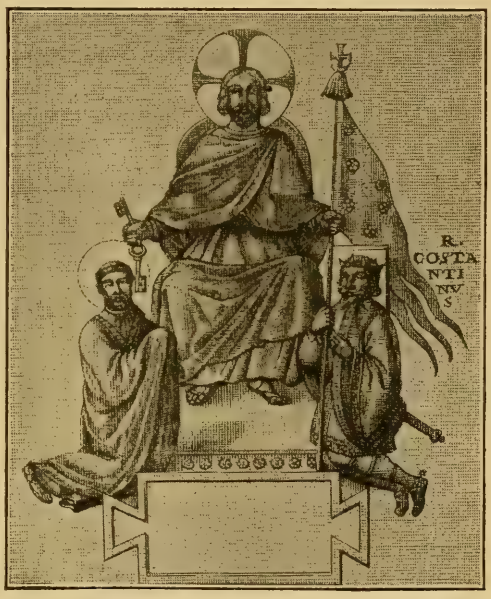
Most of his wars were directed against the pagan *Slavs*. He made their princes and tribes tributary. But their conversion he had much more at heart. The new Archbishopric of Magdeburg was to be the starting point and base of the missionary work. German colonists in large crowds followed the missionaries and in consequence of their superior methods of agriculture and government not only assimilated the old inhabitants but also secured the country for Christianity. Here, too, the activity of the monks (§ 150) was of the utmost importance. When under the later reigns the zeal of the kings relaxed, the neighboring German princes and bishops carried on the work of Christianization and colonization. Repeatedly, however, paganism, and, to some extent, national feeling roused by harshness on the part of the Germans, broke out in fierce opposition. It took several centuries before all the land as far as the Oder and beyond had become Christian and German.[1] Several new vassal states, " Marks " or " Marches," were founded. One of them, the North March, afterwards called *Brandenburg*, was destined centuries later to play a prominent part in German history.

After several minor incursions the *Hungarians* returned with

[1] Can the class see an important distinction between this eastward expansion and that under Charlemagne into Saxon lands?

GERMAN COLONIZATION ON THE EAST AT THE EXPENSE OF SLAVS, LETTS, AND MAGYARS, 800-1400.
German
Sluv
Lett
Monastery
Seat of a Bishop
Seat of an Archbishop
Boundary between Germans and Slavs, 800 A.D.
Finns
Reval
Eastland
Livland
Riga
Uxküll
Kurland
Dvina R.
Memel
Conquests of the Teutonic Order after 1250.
BALTIC SEA
Fischhausen
Konigsberg
Oliva 1186
Heilsberg
Elbing
Prussians
Marienwerder
Danzig
Pomerania
Stettin
Stargard
Marienburg
Thorn
Vistula R.
Niemen R.
Stralsund
Bergen 1193
Kolberg
Rostock
Lübeck
Ratzeburg
Wismar
Eldena 1199
Hamburg
Brode 1177
Bremen
Elbe R.
Weser R.
Kolbatz
Neumark
Landsberg
Gnesen
Posen
Stendal
Berlin
Magdeburg
Brandenburg
Frankfort
Neuzelle
Oder R.
Glogau
Poles
Leubus 1175
Trebnitz 1203
Breslau
Saale R.
Leipzig
Meissen
Bautzen
Görlitz
Altzella
Altenburg
Dresden
Zittau
Leignitz
Neumarkt
Freiberg
Brüx
Leitmeritz
Neisse
Maine R.
Prague 1235
Ratibor
Krakow
Bamberg
Bohemians
Olmütz
Iglau
Brünn
Ratisbon
Budweis
Znaim
Danube R.
Passau
Melk
Vienna
Kremnitz
Dniester R.
Salzburg
Lambach
St. Pölten
Admont
Seckau
Bruck
Raab
Ofen
Bistritz
Innichen
Friesach
Graz
Gurk
Lavant
Brixen
Villach
Theiss R.
Klausenburg
Hungarians
Hermannstadt
Burzenland 1211-25
Kronstadt
Italians
Agram
Slavs
Drave R.
Danube R.
Roumanians
10
15
20
25
60
55
50
45

an immense horde — the chroniclers speak of a hundred thousand horsemen. They devastated Southern Germany. But the city of Augsburg held out under its heroic bishop, St. Ulric, until Otto approached with the army. The barbarians were decisively defeated, almost annihilated. Their inroads into Christian countries were now at an end (§ 108). This *Battle on the Lechfeld*, A.D. 955, although not quite so significant as those of Châlons and Tours (§§ 53, 73), holds a similar position among the great military events of history. The *East Mark*, established against the Hungarians, eventually became the nucleus of the Austrian Monarchy. Thus was prepared and partially achieved the most important extension of the area of Christianity and civilization between the Roman times and the discovery of America.



THE TEMPORAL AND THE SPIRITUAL POWER. — A mosaic of the tenth century in the Church of St. John, Rome, representing Christ giving the keys to St. Peter and the banner to Constantine the Great.

B. THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE OF THE GERMAN NATION

201. For more than half a century no emperor had been crowned. — Otto's father, the poised and practical Henry, pondered grandiosely on a restoration; and Otto's own ardent soul had long been fired with the vision of the imperial diadem. He was no doubt the mightiest king in Christendom. Like Charlemagne he had victoriously fought for the protection of

religion and had worked successfully for its extension. The masses of the German people, too, dreamed of the elevation of their king. When he stood amidst the carnage of the Lechfeld, his host with common impulse hailed him "Emperor of the Romans."

Intervention in the affairs of Italy brought him nearer his goal. That country, even more than others, had been shattered into fragments. The royal power in the North (§ 98) was a mere name. Colonies of Saracens from Africa had established themselves in the South and threatened both the Greek provinces and the Papal States. But several years before the battle on the Lech an imprisoned royal princess called for help to Otto and offered her hand and kingdom to the hero of the North. Otto crossed the Alps, and liberated and married the beautiful young queen Adelheid. Berengar, the defeated pretender, was allowed to rule Northern Italy as a German vassal. More Otto could not do for the present.

Ten years later Berengar sided with a party of turbulent Roman nobles against the lawful pope, John XII. Appealed to by the pope, Otto again crossed the Alps, forced Berengar to enter a monastery, restored order in Rome and **was crowned Emperor in 962.** There was now once more a Roman Emperor, a defender of the Church and protector of the papacy. The dignity founded by Leo III and Charlemagne was renewed. It was now styled:

202. The Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. — Concerning the emperor's relation to the pope and other rulers, see § 88. From now on the imperial crown remained by an unwritten law united with the position of the kings of Germany. This means, that the German nation had the exclusive right to present their king for coronation to the pope, who unless there was some cogent reason would not crown any one not so presented. But in the choice of their king they were not restricted to their own nation. They might elect a Frenchman or Span-

iard. Nor could the pope crown any candidate who, even though elected by the Germans, lacked the necessary qualifications.

Circumstances had induced the popes to grant this privilege, which made the Germans an object of envy to other nations. After centuries, when the dignity had declined in importance, it was still coveted by foreign potentates. For Germany the golden circle of that sacred crown was a strong bond of unity deeply and proudly cherished, and it no doubt retarded the process of disintegration with which later on the country was threatened. It soon became customary for the German kings to style themselves *Kings of the Romans* or *Roman Kings* before their imperial coronation in Rome.

203. The Union of Germany and Italy. — The domination over Italy was not in itself a necessary adjunct of the imperial dignity, but was connected with it by way of fact. Germany derived great advantage from close contact with a country which was so much more highly civilized. Italy, too, which "with its nine hundred ever fighting counts resembled a huge ant hill" before the arrival of the Germans, saw a period of order and peace. By favoring the bishops and their cities the foreign rule indirectly promoted city life and city liberties, and thus laid the foundation of the flourishing state of the later city republics in northern and central Italy.[1] At all times brilliant minds south of the Alps expected the greatest benefit for Italy and the world, from the Teutonic emperors. Still there were other parties which objected strongly to the German régime. It was often narrow party politics thwarted in some selfish petty designs, but at other times genuine patriotism cruelly wounded by tyranny, which prompted the opposition. The Roman emperor was never safe in the Roman country except with an army at his back. For centuries, however, Italy's history is closely bound up with that of Germany.

[1] See Guggenberger, Vol. I, § 461.

It is claimed, chiefly by Protestant authors (German and non-German), that for Germany the disadvantages outweighed the advantages. The imperial crown, it is said, entangled the German kings in the affairs of Italy, so that they failed to give their attention to their native land. Nor can it be denied that in the course of the following centuries German unity gave way to a state of gradual disorganization, and from being the mightiest European kingdom Germany became more and more powerless. Yet as Catholics we must not allow that the possession of a dignity which participates in the sacred character of an ecclesiastical institution should of itself have brought ruin to those who held it. Italy in its chaotic condition would have invited any strong neighbor to attempt a conquest. In fact later on it attracted the French and the Spaniards just as much as it had attracted the Germans before them. The imperial crown, even much later, when stripped of most of its prestige, was still coveted by other kings and nations. The Germans, who, in after centuries, were very loath to grant anything to their ruler, put beyond dispute the amount of men and money to be contributed to the king's "coronation expedition," because, being the best judges, they fully appreciated the advantages accruing to them from the possession of the Roman crown.

204. The Importance of the Imperial Dignity Was Largely in the Nature of an Ideal. — Rev. Horace K. Mann, in his *Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages*, speaks thus of the coronation of Otto:

"Once more the affairs of Christendom were regarded as in proper hands. In theory at least, all acknowledged the supremacy of the pope in matters spiritual, and that of the emperor in matters temporal. And though in practice turbulent bishops or nobles did not hesitate, as before, to oppose the authority of either or both; and though, indeed, the "two swords" themselves, *i.e.* the spiritual weapons of the pope and the civil might of the emperors, were often crossed, still there can be no doubt that the grand idea of Pope and Emperor — a supreme spiritual and a supreme temporal head of the Christian commonwealth — had an immense effect in the uplifting of Europe. With such ideals, narrow views could not but broaden; and it was difficult for such as put themselves in opposition to them to avoid not merely being regarded as in the wrong, but in secret at least thinking themselves in the wrong. It was the common possession of one grand ideal in religion and in politics that knit Europe together, and not only made possible such

enterprises as the Crusades, but deepened such important fundamental conceptions as the brotherhood of nations and of man." Vol. IV, pp. 249, 250.

205. Otto I after His Coronation. — John XII was the true pope, but unfortunately he was not a good pope. Even though the charges against him are greatly exaggerated, his character was far from defensible. Otto soon found out that the pope had changed front and was intriguing against him with the Berengarian party and even with the Hungarians. The emperor returned to Rome. A council was called, which at the imperial suggestion declared John XII deposed and elected another pope, Leo VIII. It was a violent and tyrannical step. No power could depose the lawfully elected John XII. Hence Leo VIII was an anti-pope, though his private life was without blame. Otto now induced the Romans to swear not to choose a pope without his consent. After the emperor had left Rome, John succeeded in regaining the city, but died soon. The saintly and learned Benedict V was elected as his successor. He was no doubt the lawful pope. But the emperor thought differently. Maintaining the claim of his creature Leo VIII he took Rome by force and kept Benedict V a prisoner until death. Happily both pope and anti-pope died within a short time of each other, and a canonical election with the emperor's consent raised John XIII to the Apostolic Chair.

Apart from this blunder, which can in some way be extenuated by the extreme provocation he had suffered and by the character of John XII, Otto's rule was beneficial to State and Church alike. His merit in promoting the missions among the Slavs cannot easily be overestimated. He was deeply impressed with the sacredness of his office, and it is related that he never wore the crown without having fasted the day before.

206. The Other Emperors of the Saxon House. — *Otto II and Otto III*, son and grandson of Otto the Great, continued favoring the Church and supporting, though less vigorously,

the missions in the East and North. Otto III, young, highly educated, fervently pious, and greatly beloved by the Germans, dreamed of restoring the old Roman empire in its full extent, with Rome as his residence — an absolutely impossible project.

St. Henry II (1002–1024), a distant relative of the childless Otto III, a man of thoroughly practical character, was the very opposite of his idealistic predecessor. He never strove for the impossible. On the whole he maintained the position that Germany had attained, towards the Slavic countries as well as Italy (§ 107). His chief care was Germany itself. He did perhaps more than anyone else to increase the power of the bishops, upon whose fidelity and support he mainly relied. By a compact with the King of Burgundy (§ 98) he prepared the way for the annexation of that country to Germany, which was effected under his successor.

With St. Henry died out the family of the Saxon emperors.[1] Their rule had considerably strengthened national unity. It was fruitful,

[1] Reference Table of German Kings

Those marked with a star were crowned emperors

(1) Conrad I (Franconian), 911–918
(2) Henry I (Saxon), 919–936
* (3) Otto I, 936–973 (Emperor, 962–973)
* (4) Otto II, 973–983
* (5) Otto III, 983–1002
* (6) Henry II, 1002–1024
* (7) Conrad II (Franconian), 1024–1039
* (8) Henry III, 1039–1056
(9) Henry IV, 1056–1106
* (10) Henry V, 1106–1125
* (11) Lothair (of another Saxon line), 1125–1137
(12) Conrad III (Hohenstaufen), 1138–1152
* (13) Frederick I, 1152–1190
* (14) Henry VI, 1190–1197
(15) Philip, 1198–1203 (*deposed*)
* (16) Otto IV, 1198–1214 (*deposed*)
* (17) Frederick II, 1214–1250
(18) Conrad IV, 1250–1254

The Interregnum

in Germany, of great progress in religious, literary, and artistic life. The Reform of Cluny (§ 150) found an ardent promoter in St. Henry, under whom it began to enter Germany. (The ecclesiastical policy of the Saxon kings will be dealt with later, in § 223.)

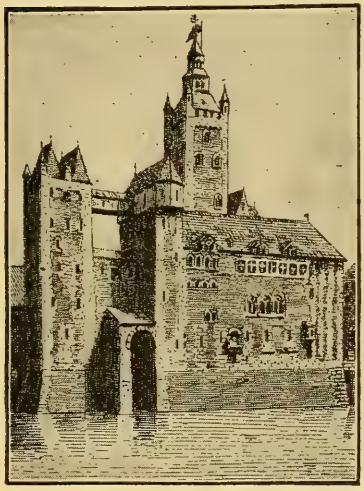
207. The Salian Emperors (1024–1125). — Conrad II, the first of the Salians or Franconians, ruled much in the same way as St. Henry II, though his Church policy was very different. — Henry III, his son, was beyond doubt one of the greatest of all the emperors. He still further reduced the power of the mighty dukes by diminishing their territories and declaring hereditary the fiefs of their subvassals. A confusion concerning the lawfulness of three claimants to the papacy he settled to the benefit of the Church, though not without incurring some of the blame attaching to the methods of Otto I. But he was ever the strong friend and the ardent promoter of the Reform of Cluny and of general ecclesiastical discipline. Under him the cities, too, began to rise into prominence. Many of them were partly or entirely exempted from the power of the lower vassals, and as "free and imperial cities" placed directly under the emperor. He gave his hearty support to the enforcement of the "Truce of God" (§ 127).

His son and grandson, Henry IV and Henry V, were of a different stamp. Henry IV, who came to the throne as a child, developed into a willful despot. Henry V, who had revolted against his father, surpassed him in craftiness. Both these rulers are notorious in history for what is called the Contest of Lay-Investiture, which filled half a century. It must be treated in an extra chapter.[1]

[1] This postponement is due to the division chosen for this book. It is preferred to bring down the political history of the principal states of Europe as far as the end of the Crusades. A *topical chapter* (XI) will group together all the reform movements inaugurated by the Church during these several centuries. The "Contest of Lay-Investiture" is one of these movements. This arrangement enables the student to view that important struggle in its true setting and its universal character, and not to see in it the isolated affair of some individual country.

C. The Hohenstaufen Emperors

208. Frederick I, Barbarossa, 1152–1190. — After the twelve years' reign of Lothair II, who governed entirely in the spirit of St. Henry but with more success, Conrad III, Duke of Suabia, of the family of Hohenstaufen, was elected. Passing over his young son, he recommended on his deathbed his nephew Frederick as successor. Frederick I, called Barbarossa (Red-beard) by the Italians, was first and foremost a German king and gave to Germany a long period of peace and prosperity. The Germans had every reason to see in him a father of their country. Unfortunately his ecclesiastical and Italian policy was to a large extent a failure. He had drawn his ideas of the imperial dignity from the Justinian Code of Laws, according to which the emperor is the sole source of right (§ 63). Evil advisers did the rest.



Castle of Barbarossa on the Rhine

The Italian cities in Lombardy had grown into regular republics warring upon one another and trying to defy royal control. After reducing them to due obedience, Frederick called a great assembly on the "Roncalian Fields," to settle their relation to the emperor. His chief advisers were four professors of Roman Law of Bologna. The development of the last two hundred years was completely ignored. It was ordained that the cities were liable to all the burdens which they had borne in the time of Otto the Great. This serious mistake led to long wars, in which at first the emperor was triumphantly victorious. Several of the flourishing cities, among them mighty Milan, were captured and destroyed without mercy.

Early in his reign Frederick had freed the city of Rome from the machinations of a certain Arnold of Brescia, a heretic and political demagogue, and *had been crowned emperor.* But difficulties with the pope soon loomed up. Once in a solemn assembly a papal letter to the emperor was read and mistranslated in such a way as to mean that the empire was a benefice of the Holy See, which would have made the emperor a secular vassal of the pope. The Holy Father Adrian (Hadrian) IV[1] explained its true meaning. The emperor appeared satisfied; but the indignation roused among his blind admirers had already done much harm. Later the emperor on the flimsiest pretexts took the side of an antipope and marched against Rome to install him. A few days after his arrival in the Eternal City a terrible pestilence broke out. A large number of his trusted friends and more than 20,000 of his best troops perished. This was generally considered a judgment of God. But a second one was needed. The pope, *Alexander III,* (§ 170) combined with the Lombard cities in their fight for their lawful liberties. At *Legnano,* 1176, the cause of the Church and of freedom triumphed over despotism. The *Peace of Venice,* truly fair to each party, was concluded in 1177.[2]

The battle of Legnano, just a hundred years after the self-humilation of Henry IV at Canossa, marks a triumph of ecclesiastical liberty over an encroaching secular ruler, and of civil freedom over tyranny. Although won by an overwhelming majority, it was nevertheless a victory of a citizen infantry over feudal cavalry, and thus presaged the coming of a new phase in the history of warfare.

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[1] Adrian IV is the only English pope. He was a credit to his country and to the Church. His original name was Nicholas Breakspeare. See "The English Pope" in Casartelli's *Sketches in History.*

[2] A lozenge of red and white marble in the vestibule of St. Mark's Church indicates the place where the mighty emperor, overcome by the sight of the pope, flung away his imperial purple and threw himself at the feet of Alexander. With tears in his eyes the Holy Father raised him up and gave him the kiss of peace.

This Peace recognized the Lombard cities practically as independent republics, though it secured ample rights to the emperor. Italy remained a rich source of revenue for him. A German army forced the antipope to submit to Alexander III.

209. Frederick's Place in History. — Despite the defeat of Legnano, Frederick remained the greatest and most honored monarch in Europe. His court was one of pomp and splendor. He looked upon France and England as fiefs of the empire; and the sovereigns of those lands regarded the emperor with profound respect, if not quite as their overlord. In Germany itself, his long reign was a period of remarkable prosperity. Forests were cleared to make farming villages, and villages grew into trading towns. Agriculture improved its methods, and land rose in value. The rougher side of feudal life in the castles began to give way to more refined manners, and a charming German literature appeared in the lays of the Minnesingers (§ 264).

When an old man, Frederick, no doubt in order to atone for the misdeeds of his life, set out upon the Third Crusade (§ 243), and was drowned while trying, after a hot day's march, to swim across a little stream in Asia Minor. His death in so holy a cause made men forget his shortcomings and surrounded his name with radiancy. Of all the German kings, Barbarossa, even more than Charlemagne, is the popular hero with the German people; and legends long told how he was not dead, but sleeping a magic sleep, sitting upon an ivory throne in the heart of the Kyffhäuser Mountain. At the appointed time, in his country's need, the ravens would cease circling about the mountain top; and, at this signal, Barbarossa would awake, to bring again the reign of peace and justice.

210. Guelf and Ghibelline. — The contest in Italy at this period gave rise to new party names. The Hohenstaufen family took their name from their ancestral castle perched on a crag in the Alps. But near this first seat of the family was their

village of *Waiblingen,* by which name also they were sometimes known. The chief rival of the first Hohenstaufen emperor had been Henry the Lion, of Saxony, who was surnamed *Welf.* In German struggles these names became war cries, — *Hi Welf! Hi Waibling!*

In Italy the German words were softened into *Guelf* and *Ghibelline,* and in this form they became real party names. A Ghibelline was of the imperial party: a Guelf was an adherent of the papacy. Long after this original significance had passed away, the names were still used by contending factions in Italian towns. In general, the democratic factions were Guelfs; but often the terms had no meaning beyond that of family interest, — so that " as meaningless as the squabbles of Guelfs and Ghibellines " has become a byword.

211. The Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. — Long after the establishment of the Papal States there remained in Southern Italy a few districts subject to the Byzantine emperors. There were besides some Italian principalities dating from Lombard times, and a small province acquired by the popes under Henry III. Sicily, however, and some localities in the peninsula had fallen into the power of the Saracens. Little success crowned the struggle of the Ottos against these foes. But under Henry the Saint a party of Normans on their return from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem did good service against the Mohammedans. A larger force arrived from Normandy and made conquests for which their leader swore fealty to the emperor. But they soon attacked Italian, Greek, and Arab alike and treated the subjected population with insolence and cruelty. An army sent against them by Pope St. Leo IX was defeated. Their energetic leader, Robert Guiscard, however, took the papal province he had conquered and whatever land he could wrest from either the Greeks or the Saracens as a fief of the Holy See. This fierce warrior then, always fighting against overwhelmingly superior numbers, destroyed both the Greek and the Saracen power in Italy and Sicily. The war was considered a holy war — a prelude of the Crusades. The Arabs he allowed to remain, provided they complied with the laws. Thus *Robert became the founder of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies* within less than thirty years after the Norman William had made himself master of England. (§ 153 ff.) *Normans now controlled*

the largest island in the North and the largest in the Mediterranean Sea. But their influence upon the population in the South was not so thorough as it had been in the North. Sicily in particular developed a civilization which though Christian and Italian was greatly affected by the presence of the Oriental elements in the island. (See Guggenberger, I, §§ 348–356.)

212. Barbarossa's Next Successors. — The Kingdom of the Two Sicilies had existed a hundred years, when Frederick Barbarossa brought about a marriage between his son and successor, Henry VI, and the heiress of the southern realm. The pope, who had been kept in ignorance (see § 121), strongly disapproved of this union. But after being crowned emperor, *Henry VI* took possession of his wife's inheritance. He took up the scheme of Otto III (§ 206) of founding a world empire. Much more powerful, able, and energetic, and aided by the crusading spirit of the age, he might have succeeded to a large degree. But he died when at the height of his power. At the request of his wife, *Innocent III* became guardian of his infant son Frederick, who had already been elected emperor and was of course heir to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. With fatherly love the great pope took care of the child, gave him an excellent education, protected all his interests, and had the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies administered in the infant king's name.

213. *The Double Election.* — In view of the infancy of "the Sicilian Child" the German princes disregarded their first act and proceeded to a new election. The Ghibellines chose *Philip of Suabia*, the brother of Henry VI, and the Guelfs *Otto of Nordheim.* Innocent III repeatedly admonished electors and elected to come to an understanding. Finally he recognized Otto on account of his fidelity to the Church as a candidate for the imperial crown. A civil war ensued. When the pope was willing to reconsider his decision, Philip was assassinated by a private enemy, and Otto now obtained general recognition. He went to Rome, but hardly had he been crowned when he

threw all his sworn promises to the winds, occupied the Papal States, and launched an attack upon the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies in order to dislodge the young Frederick. After exhausting all means of threats and persuasion to bring him to his senses, Innocent, deeply grieved, pronounced the excommunication against the ungrateful emperor. The greater part of Germany fell away from him directly. Among other reverses, he suffered, in 1214, with his ally, John Lackland (§ 177), the terrible defeat of Bouvines at the hands of the French. The Germans turned again to *Frederick* of Sicily, who was now about twenty years old. Frederick, supplied with the necessary funds by his guardian Innocent III, came to Germany, was crowned king, and, in Rome, received the imperial crown. He had pledged himself never to unite the kingdoms of Germany and the Two Sicilies. Otto, abandoned by all, sincerely repented on his deathbed and ordered the crown jewels to be handed over to Frederick.

214. Frederick II was crowned by Honorius III in 1220. He was one of the most brilliant rulers that ever sat upon a throne. His contemporaries called him the wonder of the world. He spoke German, Latin, Italian, Greek, and Arabic. All his life long he remained a protector of art and literature. But this was all he saved from the careful education given him under his tutor Innocent III.

Contrary to his promises he at once united the *Kingdom of the Two Sicilies* with his German realm. He commonly resided in the sunny South. With complete disregard of historical right he reorganized the kingdom upon an entirely new plan, doing away with feudal relations and governing through officials whom he appointed and dismissed according to his pleasure. This southern kingdom was much more modern than medieval. His despotic administration, however, was efficient. The provinces rose to a flourishing state. Arts and sciences were cultivated. Commerce grew, and the cities, though not politically free, became rich and prosperous under Frederick's government.

But religiously and morally his mind had been poisoned by Ghibelline lawyers and by the loose Arabian society of Sicily. Again and again he interfered with the most evident rights of the Church and played with promises and oaths. He solemnly took the cross for a *crusade*, but postponed his departure from year to year, during which time tens of thousands of crusaders, who had gathered in Italy from various lands, either returned home in disgust or fell victims to want and diseases. In the Orient great advantages were lost, because the Christians, rightly expecting to obtain much better results, waited for the arrival of the emperor; but the emperor never came. Finally he was excommunicated by the pope.

Unabsolved Frederick now set out with a handful of knights. The Mohammedan ruler, himself a usurper, and at enmity with a rival, was on good terms with Frederick. *Without drawing the sword Frederick by a truce received for ten years the Holy City* with Bethlehem and Nazareth. In the Church of the Holy Sepulcher he put the crown of the Kingdom of Jerusalem on his head with his own hands, without any prayer or ceremony, because no priest or bishop was willing to crown an excommunicated man. As peace had now been brought about, he ordered all the crusaders to leave the Holy Land. All Christendom was indignant at such a crusade. For the sake of Christian unity Pope Gregory IX patched up a treaty with Frederick and absolved him from the excommunication.

In Germany, where he resided rarely, Frederick was for a long time very popular. Here he showed respect for existing conditions, and honored and increased the privileges of the vassals and the liberties of the cities. In 1234 he assisted in a very edifying manner at the solemn deposition of the remains of St. Elizabeth,[1] Countess of Thuringia, who had just been canonized.

[1] The life of this amiable Saint, one of the greatest models of charity, will prove attractive reading. She was the daughter of the king of Hungary.

But in Italy and Sicily he again began his encroachments upon the rights and possessions of the Church. He kept imprisoned a Mohammedan prince who was on his way to Rome to be baptized. He prevented the appointment of bishops to twenty dioceses, and desecrated and destroyed churches through his Saracen soldiery. In good Moslem fashion he kept his wife, the Empress Isabella, an English princess, in close confinement, and was openly accused of polygamy. He appealed to a General Council, and the pope summoned one to meet in Rome. But then the emperor captured a party consisting of several cardinals and about a hundred bishops on their way to the Council, and threw them into dungeons.

In the thirteenth century there was another *invasion of Mongols or Tartars into Europe*, as terrible as that of their kinsmen the Huns (§§ 49, 53). Under their leader Genghis Khan (Lord of Lords) the Mongols had already subjected and cruelly devastated Russia and Poland, and approached the boundaries of Germany. Urgent appeals were sent to the absent emperor. But Frederick preferred to pursue the conquest of papal territory. In 1240 the Mongols fought a drawn battle with an army hastily gathered by some German princes, and did not attempt to advance any further. Their empire embraced eastern Europe and nearly all Asia. Its capital was Peking. Later it broke up into parts. But Russia remained, until about 1500 (§ 487), under the yoke of a Tartar power called the Golden Horde.

215. *A General Council* was now called at Lyons. In 1245 *it declared Frederick II deposed.* The Germans elected another king, while Frederick's interests were represented by his son. Both parties endeavored to gain and keep adherents by giving away the royal rights and possessions. In Italy, the papacy allied itself again with the Lombard cities, which Frederick meant to treat as if there had never been a Peace of Venice (§ 208). The cities, as was natural, fought chiefly for political ends. For five years the struggle went on with acts of repulsive cruelty on both sides, though Frederick by far surpassed his opponents. *Frederick II died in 1250.* On his deathbed he received the

sacraments, and ordered restitution to be made to the Church and to all whom he had injured. "What the people of Italy thought of him," says a German historian, "they showed by their boundless joy at the return (from France) of the pope, whose journey was one series of triumphs — because the tyrant was no more, and there was now hope for better times."

With Frederick II practically ends the rule of the Hohenstaufens in Germany. His son Conrad IV, elected king by his party, never obtained real power and died four years after his father, in 1254.

216. Charles of Anjou. — The kingdom of the two Sicilies remained for some years the object of fierce fighting between Frederick's Italian descendants and the papal party. In 1266 the pope as suzerain of the kingdom gave the crown to *Charles of Anjou,* a brother of St. Louis IX of France.[1] His harshness caused so much dissatisfaction that *Conradin,* Frederick's grandson and last scion, a youth of sixteen years, ventured on an attempt at gaining the kingdom. He was defeated and captured. A court summoned for the express purpose of condemning him declared him innocent with all but one vote. This vote sufficed for Charles of Anjou to have him executed. *Thus, on the scaffold, ended the family of the Hohenstaufen emperors.*

But Charles of Anjou's cruelty and the insolence of his French retainers provoked a bloody insurrection in Sicily, beginning with a massacre called the *Sicilian Vespers.* Peter III of Aragon was invited, and eventually the island became a separate kingdom under his successors. Charles of Anjou maintained himself in the peninsula, thus forming the separate kingdom of Naples. Both kingdoms, however, remained fiefs of the Holy See.

217. The Work of the Hohenstaufen Emperors. — Under them *Germany* saw a new and brilliant growth of arts and literature, particularly in poetry. Many of the grandest buildings of the mighty princes and flourishing cities were finished or

[1] This Charles of Anjou was no relative at all of the Angevin family that ascended the English throne in the person of Henry II (§ 166 ff.). Charles had by marriage acquired the County of Provence, and thus was in name a German vassal.

commenced. The Crusades exerted their renovating influence in every direction. The kingdom and empire reached a dominating position in Europe. Nor did the intellectual side of this development cease with the end of the Hohenstaufen rule. The wrong conception of the imperial dignity, however, could not but work great harm. The violent and almost insane opposition of Frederick II to the papacy degraded the crown which he wore. *About the time of his last war with the popes there set in a rapid political decay.* Several of the German dukedoms had been broken up, and their former subvassals became immediately subject to the crown. But this served only to prepare a state of political confusion, and the title and rank of duke was now bestowed on more princes. The rise of the cities, promoted by the rulers themselves, weakened the influence of all the vassals of the crown, but the granting of royal privileges to many princes, — *e.g.* exemption from appeals to the king, — and the liberal distribution of royal property, the chief source of revenue in an age which practically knew no taxes, tended to diminish greatly the ruler's actual power. This squandering of the king's rights and property assumed truly alarming proportions shortly before and after Frederick II's death. The effects became apparent. Germany had entered upon a process of interior disintegration. After this, few German kings were strong enough to go to Rome to receive the imperial crown. Meanwhile France, interiorly strengthened (§ 194), inaugurated a policy of conquest.

The Italian cities were practically left to themselves. Notwithstanding their endless party strifes and wars (§ 209), they grew constantly in prosperity, and their intellectual life became more vigorous. They, more, perhaps, than any other country, were benefited by the new Mendicant Orders (§ 232 ff.).

218. The Papacy. — Imperial transgressions had forced this struggle upon the popes. They came out victorious. It had cost them dearly, however. In the last contest with Frederick II

they were deprived of the revenues of their States and at the same time obliged to shoulder heavy expenses. They resorted to a taxation of ecclesiastical property. Their right to do so and the justice of their cause cannot be questioned, but complaints were at once raised by avaricious prelates and jealous rulers. These complaints increased constantly and became one of the standing grievances against the Holy See. The popes could no longer rely upon a strong Germany, and began to look to France for support. But this France had ceased to be the France of Saint Louis.

EXERCISES ON §§ 151–218. (1) Fact drills (cf. *Ancient World*, pp. 166, 299, for suggestions.) (*a*) Dates: 843, 887, 962, 1166, 1270, 1295.

(*b*) Fix other events by pointing out the connection with these dates; such as Lechfeld, Lombard League, Accession of the Capetians, Peace of Venice.

(*c*) Make up a list, in three parallel columns, of the principal events during each century, in England, France, Germany. (Cf. *Ancient World*, pp. 102 ff.)

(*d*) Make up a list of terms for brief explanation, by countries, or by centuries or periods, giving the names of rulers, battles, political or economic institutions.

(*e*) Write a series of events on the history of individual rulers, or of some entire country, or of some period. (Cf. Questions to *Ancient World*, Marius and Sulla.)

(2) Map Review. Compare the maps on the several countries for the varying boundaries, and for increase in number of political divisions.

SECTION IV. PERIOD OF THE CRUSADES

CHAPTER XI

REFORMATORY MOVEMENTS IN THE CHURCH

219. Concerning Church Reform. — We have observed repeatedly that the discipline of the Church and the morals of both clergy and laity were not what they should have been. Young Catholic students, accustomed to look up with great respect to their ecclesiastical superiors, are often shocked when for the first time it comes home to them that in the past there have been priests and bishops who were lukewarm in their faith, lax in their morals, and careless in the fulfillment of their duties; nay, that there have even been a few bad popes.[1] But this should neither dishearten nor frighten us. Among the twelve Apostles there was one Judas, and one, St. Peter, who in a moment of temptation denied his Lord, and one, St. Thomas, who at first refused to believe in the resurrection. And yet it was through the Apostles that the Divine Redeemer built up His glorious kingdom on earth. And so, in spite of all the shortcomings of her ministers, the Church has been the great and efficient teacher of sanctity, the restorer of morality (see §§ 30, 41), the chief, and in a way, the only civilizer of the barbarian nations.

Moreover, being an organism which is animated by a Divine Spirit, the Church possesses the power of reforming both herself and her members, whenever a reform is needed. And when this is the case, God will not fail to see that such a reform be

[1] It is amusing to come across certain pugnacious persons who have heard about one or two of the few bad popes, but know nothing of the many good ones.

really inaugurated. The chief powers in every reform will be the authorities of the Church, above all the papacy, though others, laymen included, may not only yield great assistance, but even, in a private way, originate the struggle against the evils from which the Church is suffering. (See for instance §§ 232 and 233.) In fact the whole activity of the Church, like the life of every good Christian, is a constant work of reform. Nor should it be forgotten that even during the worst periods there have never been lacking immense numbers who led the life of ordinarily good Catholics, and many that were eminent for their sanctity. (See § 57.)

A. The Evils in the Church

220. Lay-Investiture. — We have seen previously (§§ 125, 3; 142, 2) that practically all the great functionaries of the Church possessed feudal property, which the great lords or the kings themselves had bestowed upon them. For this property they and their lords went through the ceremony of investiture (§ 118). But as it was not thought becoming that a bishop or abbot should be handed a spear or banner or anything suggestive of warfare, it was customary *to invest ecclesiastics by surrendering to them the ring and pastoral staff.* Now this was likely to create an essentially wrong impression. Ring and staff were here used to represent the secular fief, while in themselves they were the emblems of spiritual jurisdiction. The act, therefore, was apt to create the opinion that the bishop received from the king not a temporal possession but the spiritual power itself.

As long as this lay-investiture took place after a canonical election (§ 142) the evil was not so considerable. But soon the king (or other temporal lord) simply demanded the ring and staff of the deceased bishop or abbot, and without further ado "invested" with them a person of his own choice, whom he ordered to be elected by those who had the right.

In practice, even this violent interference did not always work badly. Good rulers carefully selected their candidates and often succeeded in filling the sees of their territory with excellent bishops. But the principle was wrong in itself, and on the whole it had already done incalculable harm to the Church.

221. Simony. — Simony is committed by buying, selling, or bartering for temporal goods any *spiritual things* or *temporal things on account of the spiritual benefits annexed to them.* This is the sin committed by Simon Magus, the Sorcerer, who offered money to St. Peter to buy from him the power of communicating to others the Holy Ghost (Acts of the Apostles, viii. 9–24). At the time of which we speak ecclesiastical positions chiefly were the "article" bought and sold. Lay-investiture greatly increased the evil. It was of course very tempting for a ruler to accept a present or a contribution for his empty exchequer with the understanding that the donor would be granted a rich bishopric or abbey. Similar to this was the promotion of sons or relatives to important ecclesiastical positions, the duties of which they were neither able nor willing to fulfill. While such criminal transactions were far from the minds of men like William the Conqueror or the German Ottos, other lords, high and low, who had ecclesiastical preferments within their power, often indulged in them very freely. In some royal courts bishoprics and abbeys were occasionally put up at auction and knocked down to the highest bidder. The prelates who had thus obtained their position would then sell the lower offices in the same scandalous manner.

222. Nicolaitism was another evil, closely connected with the former two. From the beginning of Christianity deacons and higher ecclesiastics were strongly advised not to enter the state of matrimony, because the life of celibacy for God's sake is a closer imitation of Jesus Himself and His Virgin Mother; because it enables priests to live exclusively for their sacred duties; and because it frees them from numerous worldly en-

tanglements. About the end of the fourth century this had ceased to be merely a recommendation and had become a strict law in the whole West. But during the troubled period of the dissolution of Charlemagne's empire and the inroads of the Northmen, the general confusion of the times caused the law to be widely disregarded. It was a serious violation of ecclesiastical discipline. Worse than this, there were those who even taught that married life was better for the clergy, thus adding the crime of heresy (§ 235, note) to that of disobedience. All these transgressions were comprised under the term of *Nicolaitism*.[1] They were never so general as to allow the law of celibacy to be forgotten entirely.

As a rule ecclesiastics who did not scruple to buy their offices for money cared little for the law which enjoined on them a celibate life. They tried to provide their children with Church offices obtained through simony, and aimed to have their own sons as their successors. There was indeed ground for fear that ecclesiastical positions be reduced to the rank of hereditary fiefs.

223. Evils Threatening the Election of the Popes. — In the earliest times the popes were elected much after the manner of the other bishops (§ 142). The act was performed by the clergy of Rome together with the prominent laymen and the people. Since the reign of the Emperor Justinian the Great (§ 63) the Byzantine *emperors* for some time claimed and exercised the right of approving the election before the elected could be recognized and crowned. This "right" ceased of course after the establishment of the Papal States. Pippin the Short and Charlemagne did not influence the elections. But it appears that the Carolingian emperors obtained the privilege of having their envoy present at the consecration and in-

[1] In the first Christian centuries the *Nicolaites* formed a sect which taught that open immorality was pleasing to God. Its originator was a more or less fabulous Deacon Nicholas. (See *Cath. Encyclopedia*, under Nicolaites.) In the Middle Ages the name was applied to those clerics who violated the law of celibacy.

thronization of the pope-elect. The three Ottos went much farther. In some cases they proposed the person they expected to be elected. Yet the election itself was always considered essential, and without it no imperial candidate would have been recognized as pope. St. Henry II and Conrad II did not interfere in the elections, while Henry III, who found a rather chaotic state of things in Rome, again made his influence strongly felt. The fact that he as well as the Ottos raised only worthy and able men to the papacy cannot excuse the principle itself.

But whenever during these times the power of the northern emperors relaxed, there arose almost regularly that of *Roman and Italian factions*, which interfered with the elections generally in a much more detrimental way. Happily the principle of state interference was resisted at the moment when it threatened to produce the worst consequences.

B. Reform Popes and Their Struggles

224. Measures Against Simony and Nicolaitism. — One of the most influential elements for a thorough reformation of the Church was the Congregation of Cluny (§ 150). Many were the bishops and other prelates that had been taken from the ranks of these zealous monks or were at least under their spiritual guidance. They and the monks themselves worked everywhere for the purity of the clerical state. They disseminated correct ideas and advocated correct practices and virtuous living among all they could reach.

The first among the so-called reform-popes is *St. Leo IX* (1048–1054), who for several years traveled through France and Germany, expelling unworthy bishops and priests from office. Victor II arranged with Emperor Henry III, his cousin, for a worldwide campaign against simony and Nicolaitism, but both died before these plans could be carried into execution. The succeeding pontiffs were by no means neglectful of their duty; but nobody undertook the struggle with such vigor

as the great *Gregory VII* (see below). He appealed directly to the laity, forbidding them to hear the Masses or admit the ministrations of priests who openly defied the laws of the Church. When this intrepid champion of the purity and liberty of the Church died in exile, the power of both these evils was broken, never to revive in the same frightful and threatening degree. But before this, another important law was enacted.

225. Law Concerning Papal Elections. — After the death of the stern Henry III, the unruly elements in Rome raised their head again, and as usual caused difficulties for the papal elections. Under such circumstances *Nicholas II* ascended the Chair of St. Peter. He was determined to put an end to all undue interference. A new law confined the choice of the pope to the cardinal-bishops, that is, the bishops of certain towns in the immediate neighborhood of Rome.[1] The other cardinals, the lower clergy, and the laity were allowed merely to express by acclamation their consent to the accomplished election.

It should be remarked that the occasion of this incisive regulation was chiefly the violence shown by the Roman factions during late years. But it was equally designed to exclude all imperial meddling as well. However, it reserved expressly the rights which had been lawfully granted or were to be granted to the Roman king or emperor personally. The decree was strongly resented beyond the Alps. But there it was eventually more or less lost sight of in the great contest which affected the rulers nearer home.

226. The Law Against Lay-Investiture. — In 1073 Cardinal Hildebrand was elected to the papacy. He assumed the name of *Gregory VII*. Hildebrand, an Italian of German extraction, was a Benedictine monk of the Congregation of Cluny. Under several popes he had been the soul of the government of the Church. No one knew better than he the needs of the Church; no one had given so much thought to the question as to how her

[1] Later this law was changed so as to admit all the cardinals to the election.

difficulties might be remedied. In 1075 he solemnly prohibited *lay-investiture*, threatening with excommunication any layman that would presume to perform it and any ecclesiastic that would submit to it. This law concerned all countries. There was some opposition everywhere. But it nowhere reached the violence with which the powerful kings of England and Germany resisted it.

227. The Contest about Lay-Investiture in Germany. — *Henry IV* soon was at variance with the Saxons, among whom he generally resided. By all known means of force and fraud and broken promises he crushed their several rebellions against his tyranny, and punished their leaders with the most brutal cruelty. They were his principal but by no means his only enemies in the kingdom. His court was a real hotbed of simony, where a lucrative traffic was going on in sacred offices. Whenever he was hard pressed by his enemies, he listened to the voice of the pope and his own conscience; when the danger was over, he returned to his former habits of luxury, tyranny, and oppression of the Church.

Henry IV was engaged in wreaking barbarous vengeance upon the Saxons when the new decree was promulgated. He defied Pope Gregory's law and continued in his practice of lay-investiture and all the scandalous manipulations connected with it. The Saxons appealed to Gregory VII for help against the tyrant. The pope now summoned the king to Rome to answer to the charges made against him. Henry retorted by calling a sham synod of German bishops and abbots, which declared Gregory deposed, and he himself addressed to the pope an insulting communication. The great majority of the bishops almost at once sent to the pope a letter of confession, in which they pleaded fear of death as an excuse and asked for penances. The pope then in a Roman synod solemnly excommunicated Henry IV, forbade him to act or appear as king and threatened him with final deposition unless he should be

absolved from the excommunication within a specified time (§ 147).

In Germany all those who sincerely sided with the pope in his contest for right and justice and the liberty of the Church now combined with the many who had been outraged by the despot. Soon the plan of electing another king was discussed. As the pope had not yet rejected Henry definitely, he tried to mediate. It is entirely due to his efforts and the untiring activity of his legates that the plan was not carried out. An agreement was reached between the three parties, the pope, the king, and the princes. Henry IV should appear in a diet at Augsburg, next Candlemas day, where the pope would listen to the grievances that might be urged against the king. There all disputes were to be settled, provided the king would give satisfaction to both pope and princes. Until then he was to live as a private man.

228. Henry IV did not trust the justice of his cause. He desired by all means to appease the pope and thus to gain a better standing before the matter was to come before the princes. He set out for Italy in the dead of winter under the greatest hardships, and crossed the Alps. The pope had withdrawn to **Canossa**, a castle of the Countess Mathilda of Tuscany. Here in 1077 took place the famous meeting of pope and king. (It must be kept in mind that there were three parties to the compact, and that all three must coöperate in the final settlement.) For three days the king appeared before the castle gate and stood there from morning till night imploring absolution from the ban. The pope was in a quandary. If he absolved him and restored him to his rights, he would break his promise to the German princes; if he did not absolve him, he would incur the charge of cruelty. He at length took a middle course. He absolved him from the excommunication as far as he was a private Christian, but left him as it were under its civil effects. He was not to act or appear as king and remained

obliged to present himself at the diet of Augsburg and to submit to the verdict which would be reached there. This the king promised to do. He was then absolved and admitted to Holy Communion at the pope's Mass.

Henry IV's act was certainly a humiliation, but not an extraordinary one in those days. In the Ages of Faith public penance was of frequent occurrence and had nothing degrading attached to it. Men of high rank, kings included, submitted to it and lost nothing in the estimation of their subjects. Henry's penance, moreover, was self-imposed. The pope did not desire, much less demand it. The event, often represented as the triumph of a proud pope over a helpless king, was in reality an advantage won by Henry over his German adversaries.

It is worth while to see how Gregory VII himself describes this memorable happening. The following extracts are taken from two of his letters, one of which he wrote to the German princes in order to prevent misunderstandings and misrepresentations.

"Having laid aside all the belongings of royalty, wretchedly, with bare feet and clad in wool, he (the king) continued for three days to stand before the gate of the castle. Nor did he desist from imploring with many tears the aid of those who were present there, and whom the report of it had reached, to such pity and depth of compassion, that interceding for him with many prayers and tears, all wondered indeed at the unwonted hardness of our heart, while some actually cried out that we were exercising not the gravity of apostolic severity but the cruelty as it were of tyrannical ferocity. . . . I seeing him humiliated, having received many promises from him concerning the bettering of his way of living, restored him to the Communion. But only that; I did not reinstate him . . . that I might do justice in the matter or arrange peace between him and the bishops and princes beyond the Alps." (From Henderson, *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*.)

There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of Henry IV in making his peace with the pope. But the good resolutions did not last long. Hardly had he left Canossa, when the numerous simonistic bishops of Lombardy surrounded him and by flatteries

and threats of rebellion undid the work of Gregory VII. The vacillating king again disregarded his duty. As soon as this became known in Germany, his numerous adversaries made good their threat and chose another king, Rudolph, Duke of Suabia. After further attempts to restore unity Gregory at last excommunicated Henry again and recognized Rudolph as Roman King. Germany was torn by civil war. Rudolph, indeed, soon fell in a battle. But under the plea of zeal for the Church Henry's own sons claimed the throne and found adherents.[1]

The unfortunate Henry IV died while under the public excommunication. He was not buried in consecrated ground, until it was learned, five years later, that before his death he had desired to be reconciled with the pope. His son Henry V, who had so far feigned fidelity to the Church, continued the policy of his father with greater violence. Pope Paschal II, high-minded and generous, but better versed in spiritual matters than in secular diplomacy, was no match for the unscrupulous Henry and suffered the utmost humiliation at his hands.

229. The contest about lay-investiture was finished, after nearly fifty years, by a *concordat concluded in the city of Worms*.[2] Pope Calixtus II granted that the election of the bishops might take place in the king's presence but without simony. The prelate was to be invested with the temporalities of his see by means of a scepter. This certainly did away with the danger of a wrong interpretation of the ceremony, because the scepter does in no way denote spiritual power. The influence which this arrangement left to the monarch did not necessarily interfere

[1] Henry IV was never crowned except by an antipope whom he had intruded into the See of Peter. He has therefore no claim to the imperial title. Some writers call him emperor, because they erroneously hold that the coronation was not essential. (See § 202.) Others do so by a kind of habit, because nearly all the German rulers of the time rightfully bore that title and all without exception were elected with a view of obtaining it by a lawful coronation.

[2] A concordat is an agreement, concerning ecclesiastical affairs, between the pope and a secular ruler.

with the liberty of election. It was thought to be excusable on account of the great importance of the ecclesiastical possessions for the crown in Germany.

230. The Contest about Lay-Investiture in England. —The decree against lay-investiture was published just nine years after William the Conqueror had won England. He simply refused to give up the evil practice. And since he selected his candidates with great care and promoted none but good men to ecclesiastical offices, Pope Gregory did not urge him any further. (See § 159.) But under his sons (§ 163) the inevitable clash came. William Rufus openly trafficked in spiritual offices, and of course clung to lay-investiture. While most of the bishops either submitted to, or at least did not oppose the tyrant, St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of England, became the champion of the rights of the Church. William drove him into exile. Under Henry I he returned, but was soon forced a second time to leave the country. The king relaxed, however, when threatened with excommunication by the pope. St. Anselm returned to England. In 1107 it was agreed that there should be no investiture of ecclesiastics at all, but that the bishops should take an oath of fidelity for their feudal possessions. The elections were to take place in the king's palace.

The happy conclusion of the fierce struggle did not, in fact, prevent all royal interference with the liberty of the elections. Unscrupulous rulers, high and low, found other means to get their candidates into ecclesiastical positions. The papacy was not excluded. Charles of Anjou, for instance, brought about the election of *his* pope by the incarceration of two cardinals who would have opposed him. (See also § 208.)

For Further Reading. Guggenberger, I, §§ 373–399; 400–409. Robinson, *Readings*, I, pp. 266 ff.

231. ***Innocent III,*** **1198–1216,** is considered the greatest of the "Reform Popes." It will be instructive to gain some idea

of his activity, though in a book like this we must be satisfied with a mere enumeration of a few of his achievements. He was elected after the death of Henry VI and ruled the Church for eighteen years. His first care was to do away with a number of abuses in the papal court itself. He then restored the temporal sovereignty of the Holy See in its own domains. He inaugurated and organized the FOURTH CRUSADE (§ 244). His endeavors concerning Germany and Italy have been alluded to in § 212 ff. He resisted the despotism of John Lackland (§ 177), defending at the same time the justly acquired rights of the Apostolic See.[1] Ecclesiastical penalties forced the mighty king of France, Philip II, Augustus (§ 147), to reconcile himself with his lawful wife whom he had divorced with the consent of the French bishops and kept imprisoned for years. The pope tried, though not with complete success, to stop a cruel war between the kings of France and England. He annulled the marriage of King Alfonso of Leon in Spain with a near relative and for the same reason that of the king of Portugal. At the same time he reconciled three kings in the Pyrenean Peninsula, brought about a *Spanish crusade* against the Moors and saw their power broken forever in the battle of Navas de Tolosa, 1212. In Norway he protected the people against the tyranny of their king, and then prevented civil wars in Norway as well as in Sweden by arbitrating between crown pretenders. He protected King Emeric of Hungary in his just rights, but opposed his despotic methods of government. He restored ecclesiastical discipline in Poland, reunited far-off Armenia with the Catholic Church, and settled religious and crown disputes in Bulgaria.

His private life was a series of acts of piety, humility, and charity. His needs were very few, while he always had money for pious and charitable purposes. In Rome he established a large and well-appointed hospital. Thus he started a real hospital movement. His Roman hospital became the model of

[1] See Guggenberger, I, §§ 538–545.

innumerable others. In consequence of the pope's action, more than eighty hospitals are known to have been erected in Germany alone.[1] The most important and most brilliant event in his pontificate was the General Council of the Lateran, held in 1215. Among other momentous decrees it stated the duty of every Christian to receive at least once a year the Sacrament of Penance and receive Holy Communion during Easter time. Innocent III gave the first official encouragement to the rising new religious Orders of the Mendicant Friars.

C The Mendicant Orders

232. Character of the Mendicant Orders. — At the beginning of the thirteenth century there existed a great and ever growing prosperity all over Western Europe. In many quarters it was accompanied by a decrease in morality. Together with greed and avarice went a general luxury and dissipation among the higher classes which rendered the condition of the poor more helpless and degrading. The clergy did not keep entirely free from these evils. The number of worldly-minded ecclesiastics lent color to violent accusations against bishops and priests.

One of the most striking acts of Divine Providence was the establishment of a new kind of religious Order, called the *Mendicants,* from the Latin *mendicare,* to beg. Our forefathers styled their members *Friars,* from the Latin *frater,* brother. In the older Orders the unit was the individual house. Though a monk was privately poor (§ 60), the house was supposed to possess property. Self-sanctification was their aim. Hence monastic institutions were originally located in places far remote from the turmoil of the world, on hilltops or in solitary valleys. In the new Orders the unit was the whole organization, ruled by one general superior, or a "province" consisting of

[1] See J. J. Walsh, *The Popes and Science,* pp. 248 ff.

several houses, the members of which might be sent from place to place as conditions required. The houses were to subsist entirely on alms, hence their name. Besides the spiritual perfection of the individual members there was a second purpose; namely, preaching and other priestly and spiritual ministrations. This made it necessary to locate the residences near the people in villages and cities.

The principal mendicant Orders are the Franciscans and Dominicans.

233. The Franciscans. — When St. Francis of Assisi heard the words of the Gospel, " do not possess money in your purses, nor scrip for your journeys, nor two coats, nor shoes, nor a staff," he resolved to carry them out literally. He chose the " Lady Poverty " for his spouse. Soon enthusiastic companions gathered around him, with whom he began to preach, chiefly to the poor and wretched. This was the beginning of the Franciscan Order. It was solemnly approved in 1223 and spread rapidly. Its influence has been wonderful. The friars alleviated the misery of the poor, the sick and forsaken, and taught them by their example and by pointing to the poverty of Jesus Christ to accept their condition with resignation, if not with joy. Many of the higher classes joined the devoted followers of the " poor man of Assisi," and all learned not to look with contempt upon the lowly, and to make a Christian use of the possessions God had granted them. Very large is the number of prominent men and women who desired at least to be buried in the humble garb of St. Francis. " St. Francis and his companions," says the author of an excellent work on political economy, " have roused in millions of souls the love of poverty, simplicity, and contentedness, in a society which threatened to succumb to the dangers of avarice and greed." Though chiefly devoted to humbler pursuits, the Order has given to the Church many learned and otherwise prominent men.

St. Francis encouraged a young lady of Assisi, St. Clare,

to become under his direction the foundress of an Order of women, the "*Poor Clares.*" They follow a life of great strictness and seclusion from the world. The many communities of Franciscan Sisters which labor so successfully in the fields of education and charity are institutions of later date.

234. The Dominicans. — After making brilliant studies, St. Dominic, a Spaniard, accompanied his bishop on a journey through southern France. When passing through the districts infested by the Albigensian heresy (§ 193) he noticed that the preachers who tried to convert them indulged too much in the outward display of pomp, while the leaders of the heretics were known for their abstemious life. This suggested to him the idea of a new Order, which would combine the austerities of the older communities with learning sufficient to refute and bring back to the Church the Albigensians and other heretics. The Dominican Order, therefore, besides practicing poverty in a style similar to that of the Franciscans, makes preaching and teaching and the pursuit of learned studies its peculiar end. The Order was approved in 1216 and extended very rapidly. It has done great service to the Church in every sphere of piety and charity and above all in combating heresies by means of example and instruction. The "Prince of the Christian Schools," St. Thomas Aquinas (§ 274), belonged to the sons of St. Dominic.

St. Dominic, too, founded an Order of women. The *Dominican Nuns* are bound to an active life of industry and educational work.

CHAPTER XII

THE AGE OF THE CRUSADES

A. The Christian and the Mohammedan Orient

235. The Christian Orient: The Byzantine Empire. — To the description of Byzantine culture given in § 94 should be added mention of the endless number of court intrigues and palace revolutions with their revolting cruelties.[1] After Charlemagne's time the empire constantly diminished in size. Palestine, Syria, Egypt, and Northern Africa had been lost in the first onrush of the Mohammedans (§ 72). Slav nations were encroaching from the North upon the European provinces, until about A.D. 1000 the Bulgarian kingdom succumbed to the emperor Basil II. Armenia and Cilicia, too, were reconquered. But soon after, all Asia Minor was torn away by the Turks, and the remnant of the Byzantine possessions in Italy by the Normans (§ 211).

The saddest event, however, was the **Great Eastern Schism.**[2] Since 451 the bishops of Constantinople had assumed the title of patriarchs (§ 41, note), which the popes accorded to them after long hesitation. Though there were among them many eminent

[1] See Guggenberger, I, §§ 161–164. §§ 420–435 refer to this and following sections on the Orient.

[2] *A schism* is the separation of a community, parish, diocese, etc., from the unity of the Church by defying the lawful authority. *Heresy* is a much greater crime. It consists in the denial of some doctrine which is evidently revealed by God, as the necessity of baptism. It denies the veracity of God Himself. Disrespectful or scandalous utterances concerning matters of Faith, though always sinful, are not necessarily heresies. Schism and heresy are often combined, as in the case of the Eastern Schism.

THE
EASTERN EMPIRE
IN THE
TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES
Lands of the Eastern Emperors before 960 are marked thus
The lands conquered between 960 and 1045 are marked thus.
The dates are those of the conquests.
Russians
Magyars
(Hungarians)
Patzinaks
Danube
CROATIA
SERVIA
Dalmatia
Durrhachium
Gaeta
Naples
Tarentum
Calabria
WEST
BULGARIA
(1019)
Ochrida
Prespa
EAST
BULGARIA
(971)
Dorystolum
Preslava
Adrianople
Macedonia
Thrace
Constantinople
Thessalonica
Nicaea
Cherson
Ani
Armenia
ASIA MINOR
CAPPADOCIA
ARMENIA
(1045)
Morea
Peloponnesus
Iconium
Edessa
CILICIA
(964-965)
(968-978)
Aleppo
Antioch
(968)
CYPRUS
(965)
CRETE
(960)
Chandax
10
15
20
25
30
35
40
45

and saintly men, others openly championed heresies, or showed too great a subserviency to the emperors. The contempt with which the East now looked down upon the entire West including Rome, and the ignorance of Latin in the East and of Greek in the West, helped considerably to widen the breach between the two parts of Christianity. For several hundred years, however, the schisms caused under these circumstances through the pride of either emperor or patriarch had been short-lived. But in 1043 the arrogant Patriarch Caerularius again fell away, and this time the split remained unhealed. He aspired to be the head of the whole Church. The transfer of the secular capital to Constantinople, he maintained, drew with it the spiritual supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, who besides, he asserted, had fallen into grievous dogmatical errors. This schism at first did not extend farther than the empire itself. But in the course of several centuries the rest of the Eastern patriarchates, including the Russian Church, one after the other severed their connection with the Chair of Peter.[1]

The schism completed the estrangement between the East and the West. It partly accounts for the little sympathy which was extended to the Western crusaders in their struggle against the common foe of Christianity.

Materially and intellectually, however, the Eastern empire, though so much reduced in size, remained the most civilized part of the world.[2] Were we transferred into those distant times, nowhere should we find so near an approach to the methods of our own city and state administration, our police system, our own institutions of learning and of public and private charity. And notwithstanding its weakness and losses the empire had so far fulfilled its *mission of keeping the Mohammedans out of Europe and checking the advance of the semi-barbarous nations which inhabited the northern coasts of the Black Sea.*

[1] See "Eastern Churches," in Vol. IV of *History of Religions.*

[2] See Robinson, *Readings*, I, p. 340.

236. The Mohammedan Orient.[1] — Soon after the death of the Prophet religious dissensions rent the unity of the Mohammedan world. The *Sunnites* admitted, as a rule of their faith, besides the Koran (§ 71), an oral tradition which the *Shiahs* rejected. The latter did not recognize the Caliph of Bagdad as the legitimate successor of Mohammed. They set up another Caliphate under the "Fatimites" in Egypt and Northern Africa with the new city of Cairo as capital. Their power often extended far into Asia.

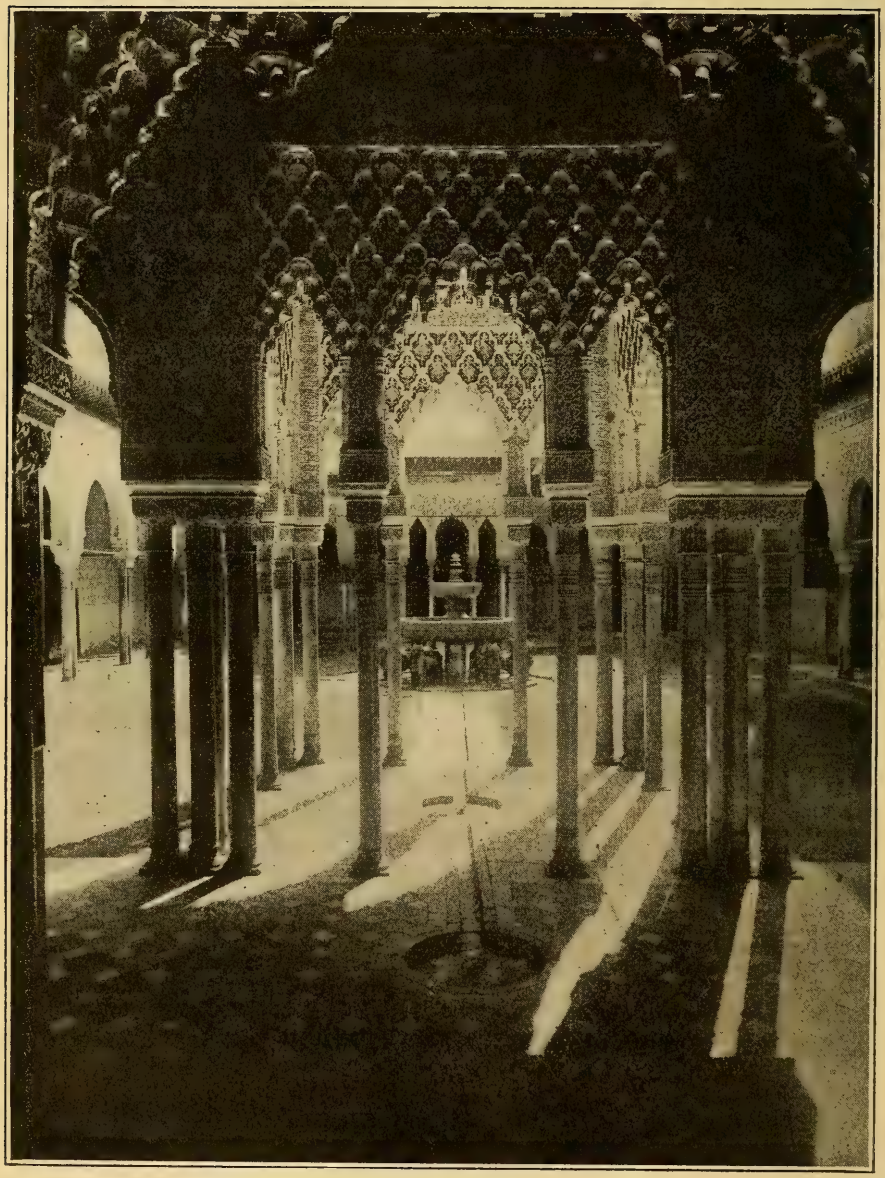
Meanwhile the power of the Caliphs of Bagdad (§ 73) passed to the *Seljuk Turks*.

Moorish Vase.

The homes of this Turanian nation were the plains east of the Caspian Sea, around the rivers Oxus and Jaxartes, where they lived divided into many separate tribes. The Caliphs of Bagdad began to form a bodyguard of Turkish slaves and captives. Like the pretorians of old Rome, this guard, called Mamelukes, soon became the real power in the empire, and made and unmade caliphs at will. Its commanders became the actual rulers, while the caliph remained a kind of religious figure-head. One of the caliphs, thinking he could drive out one devil by another, called in a powerful Turkish chief, a grandson of *Seljuk*. But it did not change matters. It simply put the Seljuk Turks in place of the former masters. The Seljuk Sultans, as the real heads of the Bagdad Caliphate, at once started a career of conquest and made themselves masters of the whole of Asia Minor. But the vast territory soon broke up into several Sultanates and Emirates.

There existed, therefore, toward the end of the eleventh century, the following Mohammedan powers: In Spain the ever diminishing Caliphate of Cordova; in Egypt and Northern Africa the Caliphate of the Fatimites; in Asia the Caliphate of Bagdad, ruled in name by the Caliphs, in reality by the Seljuk Turks, and divided into several minor states.

[1] See Guggenberger, I, §§ 431–435. Newman (Card.), *Historical Sketches*, Vol. I, contains material for reports on the Turks.



COURT OF LIONS, ALHAMBRA.

During these religious and political changes intellectual and material civilization of the Arabian dominions remained on the whole as it had been before. Even some of the Turkish rulers of this period did much to encourage it. Unspeakable cruelties against Christians and other enemies, however, disgrace the records of the Mohammedan wars.

With the vigor of a young race the Turks renewed the onslaught of Mohammedanism upon the religion of the Cross and its professors. They proved in the course of time confirmed enemies of civilization. Though their rich and prominent men might enjoy all the achievements of culture, the countries ruled by them were the very opposite of civilized. Much more than the Arabs were they subject to the adverse influences of Islam (§§ 71, 74). It was under their "administration" that the once flourishing cities of Asia became heaps of ruins or at best conglomerations of squalid hovels.

B. The Crusades

237. Origin and Nature.[1] — The scenes of the sufferings, death, and resurrection of Our Lord had always been the most cherished goal of pilgrimages (§ 148). Undaunted by the hardships of the long journey, and their ignorance of countries and languages, thousands set out from all parts of Western Europe. The conquest of Palestine by the first caliphs (§ 72) rendered these pious journeys more difficult, as the pilgrims were now obliged to pay a fee for admission to the city. But conditions became much worse when, in 969, the Fatimite Caliphs of Egypt became the masters of the Holy Land. The Church of the Holy Sepulcher and countless other churches were destroyed. In 1076 the Seljuk Turks conquered Jerusalem from the Fatimites, subjected the native Christians to unheard of vexations, and replaced the pilgrims' tax by a system of robbery and extortion. By hundreds and thousands the pilgrims went to Palestine and returned by units and tens to spread the tale of the miseries they had witnessed. Their sad reports brought

[1] See Guggenberger, I, §§ 436–443.

home to all Christians the shame and humiliation of seeing their most holy places in the power of the infidel.

It seems that Pope Gregory VII (§§ 225 ff.) was the first to conceive the idea of a military expedition for the purpose of ending both the degradation of the Holy Land and the sufferings of the Christians. In 1095 his successor, Urban II, took this matter vigorously in hand. In a Council held at Clermont he appealed to all the Christian nations and rulers to combine in a great undertaking, an armed pilgrimage. His eloquence thrilled the multitudes with holy enthusiasm, and spontaneously from the listening crowds rose the cry, "*God wills it! God wills it!*" This became the rallying cry for the sacred wars. Wandering preachers roused the population of the more distant lands. Those who pledged themselves to the expedition fastened a cross upon their breast — hence the names *Crusader* (cross-bearer) and *Crusade*. *Thousands and hundreds of thousands took the cross.* Thus began a movement of truly gigantic proportions, the like of which the world has never seen. For two hundred years army upon army of pious volunteers traveled to a far distant land, underwent incredible hardships and faced an almost certain death, from the noblest and most unselfish motives. They were prompted by the desire to do penance for their sins, and by other pious considerations, but the mainspring of their enthusiasm was their warm personal devotion to Jesus Christ, the Savior of mankind, the King of Kings.

True, some crusaders went merely in a spirit of military ardor, or to gain temporal possessions in the land they hoped to conquer.[1] Even baser promptings were not absent. None the less the real cause of the crusades was religious zeal. They were real "Wars of the Cross." The grosser motives helped to rally recruits around a banner which religious enthusiasm had set up.

[1] This motive appealed strongly to France, which unlike Germany had no outlet for the increasing number of her inhabitants. In England the Danish and other internal wars had prevented overpopulation.

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The crusaders enjoyed many *ecclesiastical privileges.* From the moment a man had taken the cross, the Church forbade under pain of excommunication all attacks, even by law, upon his person or property, until he had returned home. She also granted him what would now be called a plenary indulgence, provided he would keep his vow or die in fulfilling it.[1]

The crusades were one continuous movement. This armed migration went on uninterruptedly for two centuries, from about 1100 to 1300 A.D. The *Seven or Eight Crusades* commonly distinguished by historians were merely the highest waves of the incessant flood.

238. The First Crusade. — From nearly all parts of Christendom crusaders flocked together, but chiefly from Northern France and Southern Italy. None of the Christian kings of Europe,[2] but a number of prominent vassal princes joined this crusade. The most renowned of them is Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine. A papal legate supplied in some measure the lack of centralization in the command.

While the princes were still making their preparations, an innumerable host of peasants and similar people, impatient of waiting longer, started without any organization or arrangement for provisions. Peter the Hermit and a knight, Walter the Penniless, acted as their leaders. This unfortunate, disorderly horde soon found itself devoid of the very necessaries of life and plundered friend and foe alike. A small remnant arrived in Asia Minor and fell an easy prey to the Turks.

A multitude of more than three hundred thousand, the chroniclers report, set out with the princes in the spring of 1096. The Greek emperor, who had himself been imploring

[1] Nevertheless the crusaders who fell in a battle were not martyrs in the ecclesiastical sense of the word. Those only are true martyrs who *when completely helpless* choose death rather than apostasy.

[2] It is evident that neither Henry IV of Germany nor William Rufus of England were apt to become enthusiastic for so unselfish a project as the crusades (§§ 227–230). Philip I of France was not much better but shrewder than both. (Guggenberger, 1, § 390.)

the pope for help, now that the crusaders arrived in his dominions, gave them little assistance. But they overcame the Turkish army which opposed their advance in Asia Minor. During their further march their numbers were considerably reduced by want of every kind. Still they conquered Edessa, beyond the Euphrates, and invested the strongly fortified city of Antioch. Some of the memorable events connected with the siege are told below in a crusader's own words.

A CRUSADER.—From a thirteenth-century manuscript, now in the British Museum, London.

The following year *they took Jerusalem* after a desperate resistance on the part of the Mohammedans. Godfrey was the first of the princes to leap from his siege tower upon the walls of the city. Now followed scenes which will ever remain a disgrace to the crusaders. Incensed by the fierce resistance and probably fearing new dangers, they put to death the whole garrison and nearly all the Mohammedan inhabitants. But three days later, clad in white garments, they went in solemn procession to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and the other sacred places of Jerusalem.

239. As a result of this crusade the Greek Empire was enabled to reconquer a great part of Asia Minor. The crusaders erected the country of Palestine into a *Kingdom of Jerusalem,* and elected as their king their most popular and best beloved hero, Godfrey of Bouillon. But Godfrey refused to wear a royal diadem in a place where Jesus Christ had worn a crown of thorns, and styled himself Protector of the Holy Sepulcher. His worthy brother and successor, Baldwin, admitted the royal title. Several smaller "Latin" states were formed along the coast and beyond the Euphrates as fiefs of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. (See map.) The crusaders knew of no system of

KINGDOM OF ARMENIA
COUNTY OF EDESSA
Edessa
Tarsus
Aleppo
Antioch
PRINCIPALITY OF ANTIOCH
Euphrates
DOMINION OF ATABEKS
(Mohammedans)
Apamia
ASSASSINS
CYPRUS
Tortosa
COUNTY OF TRIPOLI
Tripoli
EMIRATE OF DAMASCUS
Damascus
Sidon
Tyre
Toron
Acre
Hattin
Tiberias (Galilee)
Nablus
KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM
Jaffa
Ibelin
Jerusalem
Ascalon
Bethlehem
Kerak
Montreal
FATIMITE CALIPHATE
THE CRUSADING LATIN STATES IN SYRIA
DURING THE
TWELFTH CENTURY
(AT THEIR GREATEST EXTENT)
L.L. POATES, ENGR., N.Y.

government except Feudalism. So each ruler divided his lands in feudal fashion among his followers who cared to remain in Palestine. Churches, monasteries, and other Catholic memorials soon marked all the spots which are sanctified by Our Lord's life and actions. French became the language of the Christian settlers, who, however, were confined to the larger places. The open country remained, for the most part, in the power of hostile Mohammedans, and traveling was very unsafe.

240. The Knightly Orders. — The "Latin States" possessed rather precarious resources. Their existence depended on the influx of new volunteers from the West of Europe. Nor did the rulers themselves always act in unison with one another. The never failing fertility of the Church, in particular through the religious Orders, came to the rescue. In 1118, a hundred years before the foundation of the Mendicant Orders, nine French knights banded together for the purpose of escorting pilgrims on their journeys to the Holy Places. This pious band soon grew into a new organization with the three religious vows. As their special purpose they proposed the defense of the Holy Land. St. Bernard of Clairvaux, one of the greatest men of the century, wrote their constitutions. The new Order consisted of knights, who did the fighting and formed the ruling power in the Order. By them and from among them was elected the Grand-Master. They were assisted by subordinate "Brothers," who might be employed for the same purpose or for attending to domestic affairs; and by priests, who looked after the spiritual needs of all the members. From the first of their houses, which was located on the site of the temple of Solomon, they received the name of *Knights Templar*. Their establishments combined the characteristics of monasteries and fortresses.

About the same time pilgrims from Amalfi in Italy founded a hospital in Jerusalem in honor of St. John the Baptist for the

benefit of such of their fellow citizens as might come to Jerusalem. This institution, too, grew into a religious Order with the purpose of caring for sick pilgrims, protecting pious travelers and fighting for the defense of the Holy Land. It was known as the *Knights of St. John* or *Knights Hospitalers*. Its organization was similar to that of the Templars.[1] Without these mighty societies it may be truly said the power of the Cross in the East would have come to an end very soon. These devoted men, who had renounced all earthly ambition, supplied much of the fighting force which was necessary to maintain, in the absence of a numerous influx of crusaders, the hold of the West upon these distant countries.

In 1197 a third knightly Order was approved by the pope. It was organized in the same fashion, but was restricted in the admission of members to knights of German origin. This Order of the " Brethren of the German Hospital of Our Lady of Jerusalem," later on called either *St. Mary's Knights*, or *Teutonic Knights*, rendered a service to the Church and civilization which at the time of its institution could not have been foreseen (§ 247).

241. The crusaders were almost always forced to fight against vastly superior numbers. Next to Divine Providence their victory is due to their incredible bravery and boldness. Greater daring and prowess and more display of physical strength and skill the world probably has never seen. The well-deserved renown of invincible valor contributed largely to the relative security of the Christian conquests.

Some letters from the crusaders give curious and interesting side lights on their motives and feelings. One of the leaders was Stephen, Count of Blois, who had married a daughter of William the

[1] The present Knights of St. John, who are organized in so many Catholic parishes and greatly help in fostering Catholic enthusiasm, are not connected with the ancient Order. Much less have the Knights Templar of to-day, a prohibited society, anything to do with the Knights Templar of crusading fame.

Conqueror and was the father of the young prince afterward known as King Stephen of England (§ 164). In 1098, from before Antioch, Stephen sent to his "sweetest and most amiable wife" the following letter: —

"You may be sure, dearest, that my messenger leaves me before Antioch safe and unharmed, through God's grace. . . . We have been advancing continuously for twenty-three weeks toward the home of our Lord Jesus [since leaving Constantinople]. You may know for certain, my beloved, that I have now twice as much of gold and silver and of many other kinds of riches as when I left you. . . . You must have heard that, after the capture of Nicea, we fought a great battle with the perfidious Turks, and by God's aid, conquered them. . . . Thence, continually pursuing the wicked Turks, we drove them as far as the great river Euphrates. . . . The bolder of them hastened by forced marches, night and day, in order to be able to enter the royal city of Antioch before our approach. The whole army of God, learning this, gave due praise and thanks to the omnipotent Lord. Hastening with great joy to Antioch, we besieged it, and very often had many conflicts with the Turks, and seven times with the citizens of Antioch, and with the innumerable troops coming to its aid. In all these seven battles, by the aid of the Lord God, we conquered, and most assuredly killed a vast host of them. Many of our brethren and followers were killed also, and their souls were borne to the joys of Paradise.

CRUSADERS ON THE MARCH. Old representation.

"By God's grace we here endured many sufferings and countless evils up to the present time. Many have already exhausted all their resources in this very holy passion. Before the city of Antioch, throughout the whole winter, we suffered for our Lord Christ from excessive cold and from enormous torrents of rain. What some say about the impossibility of bearing the heat of the sun throughout Syria is untrue, for the winter there is very like our winter in the West.

"When the emir of Antioch — that is, its prince and lord — perceived that he was hard pressed by us, he sent his son to the prince who holds Jerusalem, and to the prince of Damascus, and to three other princes.

These five emirs, with 12,000 picked Turkish horsemen, suddenly came to aid the inhabitants of Antioch. We, ignorant of all this, had sent many of our soldiers away to the cities and fortresses; for there are 165 cities and fortresses throughout Syria which are in our power. But a little before they reached the city, we attacked them at three leagues' distance with 700 soldiers. God fought for us, His faithful. On that day we conquered them and killed an innumerable multitude; and we carried back to the army more than two hundred of their heads, in order that the people might rejoice on that account.

" These which I write you are only a few things, dearest, of the many which we have done. And because I am not able to tell you, dearest, what is in my mind, I charge you to do right, to watch over your land carefully, to do your duty as you ought to your children and your vassals. . . ."

242. The Second Crusade. — In 1147 Europe was alarmed by the fall of Edessa, the farthest outpost of the Christian power. Pope Eugene III at once called upon all the Christians for a second great effort on behalf of the Holy Land. He commissioned St. Bernard (§ 150) to preach a new crusade.[1] Conrad III, Roman King (§ 208), and Louis VII of France put themselves at the head of immense forces. But the grand enterprise failed, partly from bad generalship, partly from dissensions among the crusaders. Nevertheless the number of warriors who thus reached Palestine was of considerable assistance to the Latin states.

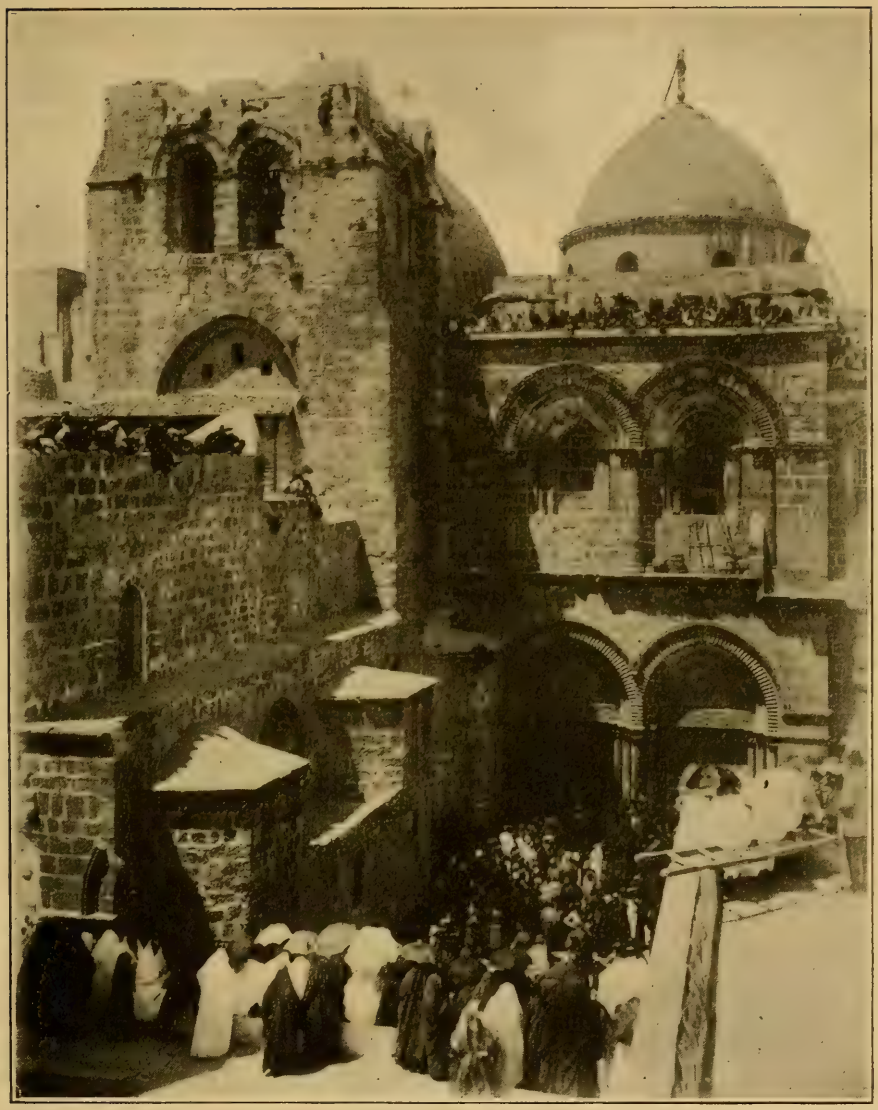
243. The Third Crusade. — Another Turkish power had meanwhile arisen from among the parts of the Seljuk Dominions (§ 236). Its chief representative was the redoubtable *Saladin.* Province upon province he tore away from the hands of the Christian defenders. Finally, in 1187 the incredible happened: he entered the Holy City as conqueror. All Christendom was

[1] When the great preacher entered the cathedral of Speyer, the Salve Regina was being chanted. Deeply moved by the devotion of the immense crowd he is said to have added the words, " O clemens, O pia, O dulcis Virgo Maria" (O clement, O loving, O sweet Virgin Mary) which have remained attached to the beautiful prayer. They were engraved on the pavement of the Speyer cathedral. (See picture on p. 164.)

staggered. The three greatest potentates of Europe, *Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, Kings Philip II of France,* and *Richard I the Lion-Hearted of England* arranged a third crusade (§§ 209, 192, 176). It was much better organized than either the first or second. The severest loss of this crusade was the death of the great emperor, whose enthusiasm and military experience had much to do with the initial successes. The two kings soon fell to quarreling. Philip was the first to return home. Yet the crusade was far from fruitless. Richard and Philip, combining their forces for a time, had reconquered the important coast fortress of Acre. Richard the Lion-Hearted filled the Orient with the terror of his name. Though his brilliant exploits did not lead to the recovery of Jerusalem, he secured other advantages. It is to his credit that the whole coast line was returned to the Christians and strongly fortified, and that free access was guaranteed to the Holy Sepulcher.

"On one occasion, near Emmaus, he (Richard) attacked single-handed a horde of Turks, slew twenty and chased the rest before him. With only fifty knights he scattered another large army at Jaffa. Saladin himself fled before him like a hunted hare." Guggenberger, I, § 514.

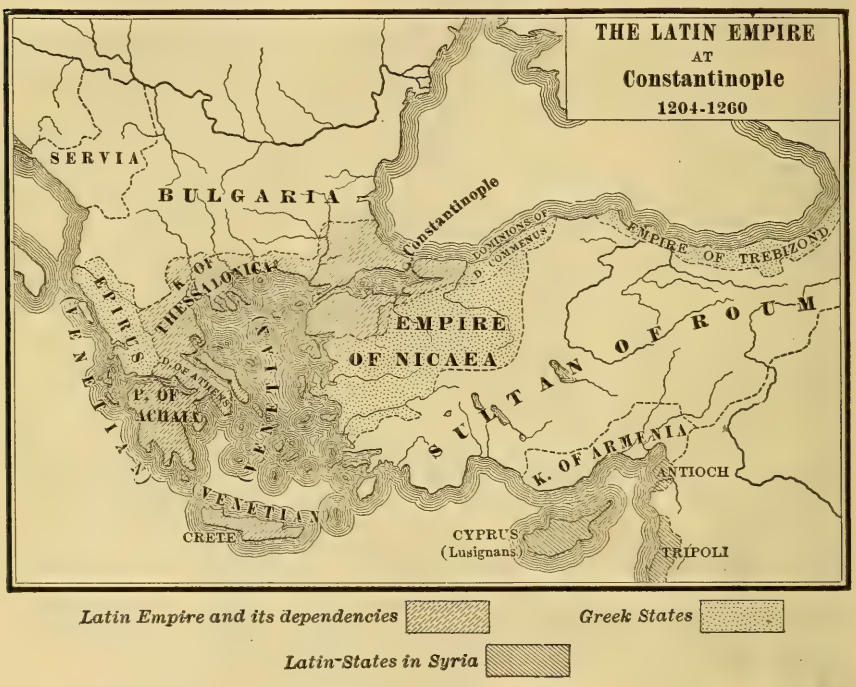
244. The Fourth Crusade; the Latin Empire at Constantinople. — Contrary to their vow the leaders of this crusade went to the assistance of a dethroned emperor at Constantinople. Another usurper, however, repudiated the treaty with the crusaders and attacked them treacherously. The crusaders without much ado took the city by storm, deposed the emperor, and replaced the Greek by a "Latin Empire." The Greek schismatic empire could lay no claim to the gratitude of Western Christianity at this period. But Pope Innocent III, who had inaugurated the crusade, was very much exasperated by this conduct of the crusaders. Since, however, he could not undo what had been done, he recognized the new "Latin Empire." It was justly expected that Latin rulers in the city on the



CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHER. — Present condition. — St. Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, built a splendid church over the Holy Places of the death, burial, and resurrection of our Savior (see Betten, *Ancient World*, § 676). It was destroyed by Chosroe (Chosrau) II, King of the Persians, in 602, and once more by the Mohammedans in 1010. The structure erected by the crusaders on a grand scale, suffered greatly by neglect and fires, but was restored to some extent during the nineteenth century.

Bosphorus would be more in sympathy with the Christian enterprises in the Orient.

The Latin emperor did not receive the whole of the Greek realm. The mighty Republic of Venice occupied parts of the territory, chiefly coastal districts and islands. Other parts became vassal states of the new empire, while some remained



in the power of Greek monarchs. The Latin Empire labored under difficulties similar to those encountered by the Latin states in Asia. It lasted about half a century. In 1261 a Greek potentate reconquered Constantinople and restored Greek rule. The Venetians maintained themselves in most of their possessions, and some of the minor Latin states, also, survived to a later date.

245. The Other Crusades. — Saladin had obtained possession of Egypt, where he displaced the Fatimite Caliphs (§ 236). His realm

included the lands from beyond the Euphrates as far as deep into Africa. But after his death it broke into several fragments, ruled from Damascus, Cairo, and other capitals. The title of Caliph was still held, at Bagdad, by the powerless successors of once mighty rulers. It was at this juncture that large crusading armies attempted to approach the reconquest of Palestine by securing Egypt. They conquered Damietta, but the fact that Emperor Frederick II, contrary to his solemn promises, failed to come to their aid caused them to lose a good opportunity to regain Jerusalem (§ 214).

On account of the unquestionable advantages scored ten years later by this emperor some writers count his pleasure trip to the Holy Land as a separate crusade. In 1244 the last remnants of his gains were lost. In the same year *St. Louis IX, King of France* (§ 193), took a vow to enter upon a crusade, — a vow which he carried out in 1248–1254. He, too, at first, landed in Egypt. But after heroic deeds and great successes he was taken prisoner, compelled to pay a heavy ransom and to surrender all his conquests. He then betook himself to Syria. But in spite of his great personal qualities as general and as warrior he could achieve but little. Twenty years later, when an old man and unable to mount his horse without help, he again gathered an army for a crusade. This time he sailed to Tunis. The expedition resulted in the liberation of thousands of Christian captives. But the great king succumbed to a fever. "Jerusalem, Jerusalem" and "Into Thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit," were his last words. In St. Louis died one of the grandest characters of his times, — one in whom were embodied most perfectly all the qualities of the Christian knight, king, and crusader.

This was the last great effort made to obtain possession of the Holy Land. The difficulties of maintaining the distant military colonies proved insurmountable. Although the popes did not give up the idea of a reconquest, the crusading spirit cooled down in Europe. People thought, too, that in some cases the name of crusade had been used for enterprises the purpose of which was less spiritual than secular.

In *1291* Acre, the last stronghold of the Latins in Palestine, had to be abandoned. The only remnant of all the Latin possessions was now the *Kingdom of Cyprus*, ruled by an old crusading family, which for three hundred years more withstood the assaults of the Crescent.

For Further Reading. — *Chronicles of the Crusades* (see book list). Robinson, *Readings*, I, pp. 312–345. Guggenberger, I, §§ 436–452; 464–467; 506–515; 521–530; 559–562; 576, 577; 580.

Exercise.—Catchword review on the crusades.

246. Further History of the Knightly Orders. — *The Knights of St. John* soon conquered, and held for two hundred years, the island of Rhodes, whence they were called the Rhodesian Knights. They were dislodged, after an heroic defense, in 1522, by the Turks. In 1526 Emperor Charles V (§ 359 ff.) gave them the Island of Malta, and since this time they were known as the Knights of Malta. The loss of this island in 1798 to the French induced the insignificant remnant of the Order to take exclusively to works of charity, *i.e.* activity in hospitals in peace and war.[1]

Effigies of Knights Templar. — From funeral slabs in the Temple Church, London. The crossing of the legs in funeral sculpture indicated a crusader.

The Knights Templar suffered a tragic end. Their vast possessions roused the jealousy and avarice of King Philip IV, the Fair, of France. This unworthy grandson of St. Louis spared no device of intrigue and violence to bring about a condemnation of the Order for heresy and immorality. Pope Clement V, though himself a Frenchman and most anxious to please the French king, refused to go that far. Without condemning the Order he decreed, in 1311, its dissolution. The accusations against the Order as such, though completely unfounded, had made the rounds of Europe and had undermined its good name. An organization thus slandered was not likely to be joined by young men of respectable families. (§ 328.)

[1] See Th. Drane's *History of the Knights of St. John.* Special Report: Siege of Rhodes.

247. Towards the close of the Crusades in the Orient the *Teutonic Order* finished a crusading enterprise against a pagan nation almost in the heart of Europe. Northwest of the lower Vistula lived the fierce *Prussians,* a Slavic race, akin to the Lithuanians farther east. They were given to a low kind of idolatry. Like the Saxons of old (§ 84) they admitted no missionaries and harassed the neighboring countries incessantly. St. Adalbert, the "Apostle of the Prussians," and others paid with their lives for attempting to preach the Gospel to them. To end the devastations wrought by these barbarians, Duke Conrad of Masovia [1] invited the Teutonic Order to undertake the conquest and conversion of the Prussians. The conquest, carried on with varying success, required fifty-five years, 1228–1283. The Prussians fused entirely with the new settlers that arrived in the wake of the conquerors, and in the course of time the old Prussian language gave way to the German. For more than a hundred years Prussia, ruled by the Knights, was considered the best governed country of Europe. It was a fief at once of the empire and of the papacy. A number of bishoprics under the Metropolitan See of Riga, and numerous monasteries of monks and friars, looked after the spiritual welfare of its inhabitants. The Knights extended their possessions along the whole southeastern coast of the Baltic, making this the largest ecclesiastical territory next to the Papal States. We shall be obliged to refer to it later on.

C. Results of the Crusades

248. Failure. — The purpose for which so many thousands sacrificed all that was dearest to them, the purpose for which the popes and countless unselfish persons had been laboring incessantly, was obtained only in a very imperfect way. For a brief space only were the holiest places in Christendom in the

[1] Masovia was a part of Poland. Poland had no strong rulers at that time (§ 107).

power of Christians. "*This failure was the greatest misfortune that could have befallen Europe.* The inundation by the Turks could not have taken place had Europe become and remained mistress of Egypt and Syria. This possession would have forestalled all destruction of civilization, and we should now have more nations of our own kind in Europe." (Niebuhr.) Nevertheless the heavy expenses in blood and treasure had not been made entirely in vain.

The crusades had helped to create a new age. The Europe of 1300 was a different world from the Europe of 1100.

249. Military Result. — By keeping the Mohammedan powers busy in Asia the crusaders saved the life of the Eastern Empire for two hundred years more. Europe had two more centuries to develop its own civil and political institutions, before the enemy battered at its very gates. It is a significant fact that not ten years after the fall of Acre (§ 245) a Turkish chieftain, *Osman* (Othman), made himself master of those provinces in Asia Minor which the Greeks had reconquered after the first crusade (§ 239). In Brussa, not a hundred miles from Constantinople, he established in 1299 the center of a *new Turkish power, that of the Osmanic or Ottoman Turks,* which became the terror and scourge of all civilized Europe.

250. Results for the Church. — A great idea, to free the Holy Sepulcher, had taken hold of Christian Europe. To realize this idea heroic efforts were made by individuals and communities, by the millions that went on the crusades and by other millions, parents, wives, children, and friends, who sympathized with the crusaders, and though remaining at home had fully caught the crusading spirit.[1] The source of this spirit was an intense and enthusiastic personal love for Jesus Christ, and this devotion could not fail to be enormously strengthened

[1] James J. Walsh (*Thirteenth Century*, p. 229) thinks that much of the chronicling of crusaders' experiences was done for the sake of the women. (See § 241.)

in consequence. No wonder that Christian life in general became much more brisk and active. No period can boast of so many Saints in palace, hut, and convent. The foundation of the Mendicant Orders (§§ 232 ff.) was a fruit of this new spirit. Shortly before them another Order, a very " timely " one, had been established, the " Order of the Blessed Trinity for the Redemption of Captives," — a counterpart of the military Orders. About a million prisoners, it is said, owe to this Order their liberation from horrible servitude. The military Orders and their flourishing condition at a time when membership meant a life of sacrifice reveal an astonishing amount of lively Faith among the higher classes.

The Migration of Nations had inaugurated a great *missionary activity*, which indeed had never died out completely. But the period of the crusades saw a new revival of apostolic zeal. It was now that final and successful efforts were made for the conversion of the Slavs on the eastern bank of the Elbe (§§ 199, 200, 106).[1] The Christianization of Prussia (§ 247) was the last step in this progress of the religion of Christ along the coasts of the Baltic. Finland's conversion originated from Sweden at the same period. Lithuania alone in spite of serious efforts remained pagan for a hundred years more. Numerous were the attempts at Christianizing the Mohammedans of Northern Africa. Missionaries went even to the Mongols and established a bishopric in Peking, then the capital of the vast Mongolian empire (§ 214). The popes directed, encouraged, and supported all these enterprises.

251. General Intellectual Results. — The crusades brought new energies into play, and opened up new worlds of thought.

[1] An amusing incident is told of the conversion of the Pomeranians. A poor monk arrived among them as apostle. They refused to listen to him, because they said the Lord of heaven and earth could not have chosen such a beggar for His ambassador. Thereupon St. Otto, the Bishop of Bamberg, went to them. But he added to the virtue of an apostle the pomp of a prince. He effected their conversion.

The intellectual horizon widened. Men gained acquaintance with new lands, new peoples, new manners. They became desirous of discovering unknown countries. Crusading thoughts in fact had much to do with the enterprise of Columbus.

The crusaders brought back at once some new gains in science, art, architecture, and medical knowledge; and their romantic adventures furnished heroic subjects for the pen of poet and story-teller — so that literary activity was stimulated, and many histories of the crusades were written. But, best of all, *Europeans had learned that there was more to learn* in the world. There was a new stir in the intellectual atmosphere, and the way was prepared for a wonderful intellectual uprising. It was indeed at this period that the universities began to rise and the great teachers to gather eager crowds of students about them (§ 267 ff.). This, too, was the time of the grand development of architecture (§ 277 ff.).

252. Commercial Results. — As long as the Latin states in Syria lasted (nearly two hundred years), they were *dependent upon Europe for weapons, horses, and even supplies of food.* These things had to be transported by sea; and, during the last crusades, the crusaders themselves usually journeyed by ship. *This stimulated shipbuilding, and led to an increased production of many commodities for these new markets.*

Even more important was the reappearance in the West of long-forgotten Oriental products. Europeans now learned to use sugar cane, spices, dates, buckwheat, sesame, saffron, apricots, watermelons, oils, perfumes, and various drugs and dyes, and, among new objects of manufacture, cottons, silks, rugs, calicoes, muslins, damasks, satins, velvets, delicate glassware, the cross-bow, the windmill.

Many of these things became almost necessaries of life. Some of them were soon grown or manufactured in Europe. Others, like spices, could not be produced there, and, in consequence, commerce with distant parts of Asia grew enormously.

In the absence of fresh meat in winter and of our modern root-foods, spices became of immense importance for the table. For a time, Venice and Genoa, assisted by their favorable positions, monopolized much of the new carrying trade; but all the ports of Western Europe were more or less affected. This commercial activity called for quicker methods of reckoning; and at this time Europe adopted the Arabic numerals (§ 74).

Money Replaced Barter. — All these commercial transactions called for *money*. The system of barter and of exchange of services by which Europe had largely lived for some centuries was outgrown. In consequence the coinage of money grew rapidly.

253. The Crusades Undermined Feudalism. — After money had become common, the relations between tenant and landlord, and lord and vassal no longer needed to rest upon exchange of services for land. Thus the economic basis of feudalism (§ 118) was weakened or destroyed. The presence of money, too, enabled the kings to collect national revenues, and so to maintain standing armies of well-drilled mercenaries, more efficient than the old feudal arrays.

The crusades struck even more direct blows than this at feudalism. Thousands of barons and *knights never returned from the Orient*, and their fiefs escheated to their lords, frequently to the crown. Moreover, to procure the money wherewith to equip their followers for the crusades the great barons mortgaged their possessions to the kings, and sometimes the smaller vassals sold them outright. And kings as well as great vassals sold charters of rights to the rising towns to obtain money. Thus the kings acquired a more direct power over their subjects outside the cities, and the cities obtained more liberties and a greater amount of home rule. The townsmen now figure as the "third estate" beside the higher clergy and the nobles. All this, however, varied greatly in the various countries.[1]

[1] See "The Results of the Crusades," in Bp. Shahan's *The Middle Ages*. pp. 355–393.

Siege of a Medieval Town. — (The summons to surrender.) — From a sixteenth century copper engraving.

CHAPTER XIII

MEDIEVAL CITIES

A. Character

254. The Origin of the Cities has been alluded to repeatedly. In the former Roman provinces there had remained some of the old communities which carried on their municipal life as best they could. This was in particular the case in Italy and southern France (§ 56; for Germany see § 199). Later on human habitations clustered around the convents and the residences of the bishops and kings. In the beginning these settlements remained under the complete control of the lord of the land, the king or his vassal. Soon they obtained special privileges, such as the exclusive right of holding a market for certain districts. Exemption from the lord's court of justice and a greater or less amount of self-government followed.

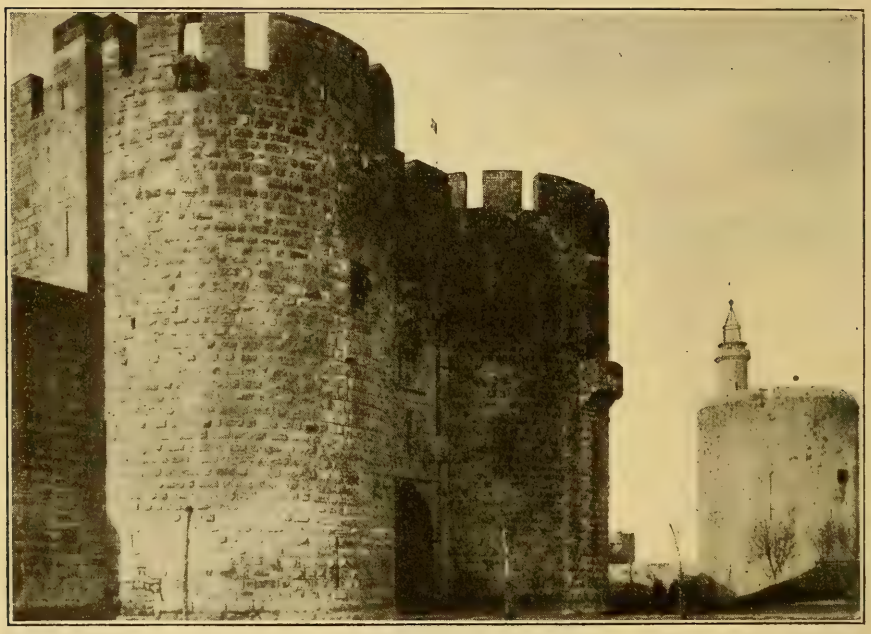
Many of the inhabitants possessed fields in the neighborhood,

which gave to the new town the aspect of a large but prosperous looking village. A large number of the cities thus created, always remained to some extent agricultural. But the tendency of the city people was rather to engage in commercial and industrial pursuits. Commerce, carried on on a larger or smaller scale, as well as every kind of handicraft and professional pursuit, stamped all the cities with quite a peculiar character. The increase in money (§ 253) gave a new impetus in the same direction. Thus there arose a division of labor between the town and its rural environs, the latter furnishing the fruits of the fields and the town offering the products of industry and the merchandise imported from elsewhere.

Medieval Town Hall (Oudenarde, Belgium).

255. External Appearance of the City. — The mean cottages of the country folk gave way to the comfortable and even stately homes of the sturdy townsmen, and the palaces, stores, offices, and warehouses of the merchants. Imposing town halls and other public buildings, and large and splendid churches further contributed to mark the difference between the country and the city.

For their safety the townsmen would surround their cities as the nobles did their castles with lofty stone walls and deep moats. Access could not be had except through the well-fortified gates. The citizens themselves were obliged to military service. By turns they mounted guard at the gates on the high towers of the wall — at least when times were critical: while



City Gate at Aigues Mortes, a town in Southern France.

ordinarily, in cities which could afford it, these duties were intrusted to a few paid officers. The gates were locked at night. During the day no one was admitted unless he gave the men on duty satisfactory assurance of his unobjectionable character.

But the space inclosed by the walls had to be utilized to the utmost. Hence the streets were narrow and dark. They were nearly always crooked, because the city had grown spontaneously, without much planning. Sewerage and sanitation in general left much to be desired. Nor were the thoroughfares lighted during the night.

The number of inhabitants was much smaller than the renown of many a famous city would lead us to expect. There were some really large cities in Italy, one or the other of which could claim more than a hundred thousand people. Some German towns went beyond twenty thousand. But few places anywhere had more than seven thousand. Until 1500 England had only two towns with more than twelve thousand — London and Bristol.

B. The Gilds

256. Organization was the watchword of the Middle Ages. The adage, "United we stand, divided we fall," has never been better understood nor more systematically carried into effect. Wherever there were people with the same inclinations, aims, and interests, religious or secular, some kind of Gild (guild, society, confraternity) was sure to arise. The number of these gilds was incredibly large. Yet there was no confusion, partly because of the definiteness of their aims and purposes, partly because all were under the active control of the ecclesiastical and civil authorities.

257. I. The religious gilds were somewhat like our own confraternities and sodalities and pious societies. But on the whole they showed their religious spirit more actively in common practices of piety and in the exercise of charity towards members and non-members. Each had its peculiar devotions and religious festivities. But almsgiving, from funds collected by the members or from endowments established permanently by benefactors, the care of the sick, the burial of the dead, and the providing of Masses for deceased members were common to all.

These features, however, were found in the secular gilds as well, because the people could not conceive of any organization which would refuse to profess itself Christian. The greatest

event in the yearly round of public religious practices was the participation in the Corpus Christi procession.[1]

II. The craft gilds were unions of artisans — weavers, shoemakers, glovers, tanners, and so on. York, a small English city of some three thousand people, had fifty such gilds, Cologne had eighty.

Three grades of workers were distinguished according to their skill in handicraft: masters, journeymen, and apprentices. The *master* alone might set up a shop in which he himself with one or more journeymen and apprentices worked at his craft. It was a diminutive factory, in which the factory owner himself was a worker. His journeymen commonly, and his apprentices always, lived in his house and ate at his table like members of his family. "The master must so faithfully and loyally teach his apprentice that he can one day answer for it to God." "He must take his apprentice to church, and with zeal bring him up in honesty and fear of God, as if he were his own child."

When the stipulated time of the apprenticeship was over, the *apprentice became a journeyman,* and began "journeying" to other towns in order to perfect himself in his trade and see the world. Some years later he presented to the gild officers his *masterpiece,* that is, some piece of work in the line of his particular craft, to show his competency. If it was accepted, he was admitted as master to full membership in the gild.

The gilds were formed by the masters and journeymen, while the apprentices were considered its wards. The real control of

[1] The gilds took a prominent part in the performance of the popular religious dramas. Of these there were two kinds, the *Miracle Plays*, which enacted events taken from the Bible or from lives of Saints; and the *Morality Plays*, which presented in allegorical form the great truths which ought to govern the life of Christians. Some of these plays have survived, for instance the famous "Everyman," which was given some years ago in most cities of America. It brings out most forcibly the vanity of all earthly possessions. The performances took place in the open air, and there was of course no charge for the spectators. Special Report: Walsh, *Thirteenth Century*, pp. 238 ff.

gild affairs, however, was in the hands of the masters. But the traveling journeyman enjoyed the protection of the gild in every city where he happened to be occupied. It was greatly conducive to a good understanding between employers and employees, that both belonged to the same organization.[1]

The gilds had their *gild houses*, some of which were quite sumptuous buildings. Here took place the business meetings and the social gatherings and jollifications. Gild life generated a strong corporate feeling, a pride in the *honor of handicraft*, and a desire to turn out work which would be a credit both to the workman and to the profession. The craftsman knew there were other men greater and more powerful than he. But he envied them not. According to Divine Providence the workman, too, was a necessary part of the human family; without him the world could exist as little as without the king. And handicraft had been sanctified by the God-Man Himself.

The gild had its *Patron Saint*, on whose festival the members in a body attended High Mass, often in their own chapel. Commonly there was a grand procession. A banquet and merry-making took up the afternoon. Nor were the poor forgotten on such occasions. At Kiel twelve poor people were fed, "and a good piece of beef and a loaf of bread given to twelve poor students."

The gild was based upon the Christian principles of justice and charity. Every member had the right to share in the supply of raw material of any other member by refunding the cost, and all were bound to follow the same methods in the sale of their products. The price fixed by the gild secured the rights of both producer and customer.[2] If a member died poor, the

[1] In some cities this advantage was lost by the formation of separate journeymen's gilds, which, like the unions of our own times, consisted of employees only. Strikes, too, were not of infrequent occurrence in the Middle Ages.

[2] Times have changed since the gilds governed the relation between workman and employer. Our tables and chairs are no longer produced in the

gild paid a pension to his wife and even gave dowries to his daughters. "We shall be repaid by the good God, Who has repaid many."

III. The merchant gilds were established for the purpose of obtaining those business advantages which could be secured only by united action. Though, like the craft gilds, essentially of a secular nature, they embodied not only the economic but also the religious and charitable features which were practically common to all such organizations. On the continent they were of a more aristocratic character than in England. The craft gilds, conscious of their own strength, here and there engaged with them in bloody contests for political privileges in the government of the cities.

It was chiefly due to the activity of the gilds, religious and secular, that "there was practically no unrelieved poverty in the cities during the later Middle Ages. The specter of the modern proletariat, wretched, debased, with no definitely recognized claim upon any social group or institution, had no counterpart in the municipal life of that time." Rev. John A. Ryan, in *Catholic Encyclopedia,* Vol. III, p. 599.

258. The rise of princely despotism about and after the beginning of the sixteenth century, and the religious disintegration induced at that time by the Reformation, greatly contributed to the **decline of the gilds.** In England all the gilds were

craftshop, where a master worked side by side with his journeymen and apprentices. The owner of our furniture factory is no longer on familiar terms with his numerous workmen. Commonly he hardly knows them. The old gild relation cannot be revived except where there is still a sufficiently large number of craftsmen of the old type. Generally speaking we must try to secure by some other method the results formerly obtained by the gilds. Above all it must ever be kept in view that according to the will of God workers and employers are not enemies but friends, neither of whom can get along without the other. The principles which guided the medieval gilds in fixing the amount of wages and prices are still in force and ought to bring about the same result. In his famous Encyclical, "On the Condition of the Working Classes," Pope Leo XIII sets forth in what manner workingmen's societies should be organized in our own modern times.

brutally destroyed by Edward VI (§ 379). In many places on the continent the gilds practically became benefit societies for a limited number of masters' families and their associates. In some localities, however, gild life retained much of its ancient vigor until well into the nineteenth century.

For Further Reading. — Guggenberger, Vol. II, §§ 176–180, will supplement our short sketch in many ways. Several chapters in Dr. Walsh's *Thirteenth, Greatest of Centuries* give a brilliant picture of the conditions of handicraft and art during the Middle Ages. Similar is a chapter in Cardinal Gasquet's *Eve of the Reformation* and the first fifty pages of Vol. II of Janssen's *History of the German People*. *Translations* and *Reprints*, Vol. II, No. 1, is a collection of ordinances, rules, etc., of medieval gilds.

C. The Cities as States

259. Political Position of the Cities. — The town elected its own officers, and prescribed their powers. Offenses committed within it were tried in its own courts, and were punished by ducking in water, by fines, by flogging, mutilation, or death. Some of the continental towns inflicted cruel penalties. The town officers, together with the gilds, supervised all industry, in particular the making and selling of articles of food, such as bread, ale, wine, etc. They provided against famine by keeping supplies of grain in the cities' warehouses.[1] They even made regulations for the dress of the several classes, to prevent extravagance. They waged wars on one another, or concluded special treaties regarding trade privileges. Southampton had formal agreements with seventy other English towns. Within twenty years London sent out three hundred letters on such matters to the officials of ninety different towns. On the continent such city leagues were more pronouncedly of a political

[1] In 1540 the burghers of Nuremberg boasted to Emperor Charles V that the bread they offered him had been made from wheat kept in the town granary for 118 years.

character. We have already noted the powerful Lombard League, which fought against Barbarossa (§ 208).

In England the development was slower than on the continent. The cities found the royal power more firmly established, and, like the English nobles, they never possessed the extreme independence which was found in other cities of Europe. But the

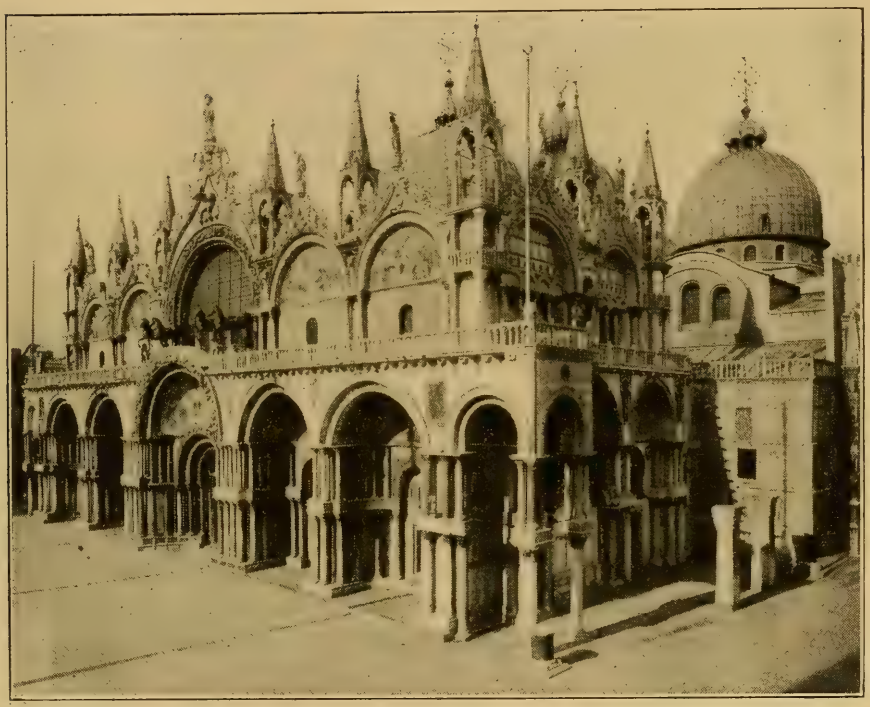
The "Ducal Palace," Venice. — Residence of the "Doge" (Duke), the president of the Republic of Venice.

"Cinque Ports," a league of five towns on the Channel, was able to wage war on its own account with French and Flemish cities.

In France the Southern towns which had grown from old Roman municipalities (§ 194) were in the beginning almost independent. But the systematic increase of the royal power encroached upon them to such a degree that by 1400 their

early liberties had entirely vanished, and they were ruled by royal officers.

Northern Italy. After the imperial power had almost disappeared, the cities grew enormously in wealth, power, and independence, and were practically sovereign states. Venice, never really under the emperor, and Genoa, retained their



St. Mark's Cathedral, Venice. — The present building which replaced an older one, was erected in 976. Its style is a mixture of the Byzantine and the Romanesque (§ 277). Compare with the pictures in §§ 63, 141, 142, 145.

position as sovereign republics until the days of the French Revolution. Many other cities fared differently. In the incessant wars between town and town able generals found opportunities to become, first the most prominent men, then the rulers of their fellow citizens. In this way, after a long period of free city life, there appear dukedoms and other principalities

in Northern Italy instead of the ambitious municipalities. Chief among these were the dukedoms of Milan under the family of the Visconti and Sforza, and of Mantua, under the Gonzagas. Later on the Medici held a similar position in Florence.[1]

260. *In Germany* the cities rose to be a great political power. They obtained their privileges partly from the king, partly from the vassal lords, the bishops included. Some fifty cities gained freedom from all control of subordinate princes, and became directly subject to the king (or emperor) alone. As "free and imperial cities" they were the equals of the princes in rank. They retained their position until the times of Napoleon I (§ 605, *d*).

Like the cities in other countries the German towns frequently combined in city leagues, chiefly to secure safe transit for their commerce by land and sea. Important and mighty were the *Rhenish League* and the *Suabian League*, and more so than all the rest combined, the *Hansa*.

261. The Hanseatic League ("Hansa," — an old German word for "union") was composed of eighty *northern* German towns. It grew up about 1300, out of earlier unions of small groups of cities; and it was organized to protect trade against pirates and robbers, and to secure greater *advantages in foreign countries* than single cities could secure for themselves.

It established colonies, or "factories," in foreign cities, as in London, Novgorod, Bergen, Bruges, and Wisby. Each such colony had its own government and its own soldiery, independent of those of the other parts of the city in which it was imbedded. The Hanseatic settlement in London was known as the *Steelyard*. The importance of the Hansa in English trade is indicated by the fact that the coin (pound) of the "Easterlings" (from the East, or Baltic, Sea) became the "pound sterling" in English currency; and the trustworthy character of their wares is shown by the meaning of the word "sterling" in our language.

By war, or threats of war, the Hansa won trading privileges from the

[1] See Betten, *Ancient History*, § 126, on the Greek Tyrants. — St. Aloysius Gonzaga was of a side branch of the Ducal Family of Mantua.

DOMINIONS OF THE HANSA AND OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER AT THEIR GREATEST EXTENT.
(About 1400.)
Hansa towns are shown thus:- Groningen
Foreign Factories of the League thus:- Bruges
Cities in which the League, or some of its members, possessed trading privileges thus:- Yarmouth
TERRITORY OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER.
1309.
Added up to 1410.
NORTH SEA
(WEST SEA)
NORWAY
DENMARK
ENGLAND
Bergen
Opslo
Falköping
Warberg
Aalborg
Elsinore
Copenhagen
Helsingborg
Kalundborg
Roskilde
ZEALAND
FÜNEN
Svendborg
Flensburg
Nykjöbing
Kiel
Stralsund
Rostock
Greifswald
Lübeck
Wismar
Stade
Hamburg
Ruxtehude
Demmin
Groningen
Stavoren
Enkhuizen
Kampen
Elborg
Zwolle
Deventer
Amsterdam
Dordrecht
Harderwijk
Arnheim
Zutphen
Bremen
Lüneburg
Ülzen
Sechausen
Salzwedel
Pritzwalk
Kyritz
Havelberg
Stendal
Hanover
Brunswick
Osnabrück
Minden
Herford
Hameln
Helmstedt
Brandenb'g
Magdeburg
Hildesheim
Lemgo
Bielefeld
Münster
Soest
Höxter
Goslar
Halberstadt
Aschersleben
Halle
Merseburg
Göttingen
Northeim
Einbeck
Warburg
Paderborn
Dortmund
Duisburg
Cologne
Neuss
Roermond
Ghent
Antwerp
Venlo
Nimwegen
Wesel
Koesfeld
Zierikzee
Briel
Middleburg
Sluys
Bruges
Ypres
Dieppe
Harfleur
Paris
Dinant
Meuse
Rhine
Elbe
York
Hull
Grimsby
Norwich
Yarmouth
Ipswich
London
Rochester
Canterbury
0
5
10
60
55
50

15
20
25
30
60
55
50
N
Abo
Gulf of Finland
Vera R.
Reval
Esthland
1346
Novgorod
Stockholm
DAGO
Dorpat
Pernau
Livland
1237
Pskof
OSEL
L. Wettern
Wenden
Wisby
Windau
Riga
Kurland
Mitau
Dvina
Kalmar
Dünaburg
R.
Polotsk
Vitebsk
1384
Memel
Niemen
Kovno
BORNHOLM
Konigsberg
Rudau
Rügenwalde
Stolp
Danzig
Oliva
Braunsberg
Elbing
Marienburg
Grodno
Kolberg
Pomerania
1310
Dirschau
Prussia
Kammin
Gollnow
Lobau
Kulm
Kulmerland
Stargard
Thorn
1328-43
Bug
R.
Pripet
Vistula
Frankfort
Oder
Kalisz
R.
Breslau
Krakow

kings of England and other northern countries. In 1370 Waldemar of Denmark was compelled after long strife to sign the *Peace of Stralsund*, which provided that future Danish kings must have the sanction of the League before they mounted the throne. For a century the League was one of the Great Powers of Europe. The Hansa flag floated over nearly every merchant ship of the northern seas and over nearly every counting house from London to Novgorod. The League owned fisheries and mines; and in their trading posts there met, for exchange, furs and hides from Russia, grain from Poland, amber from the Baltic coasts, metals of Saxony, wines of the Rhine, wool and tin of England, cloths of Holland, and the products of the more distant South and East.

The Hansa declined partly because of internal dissensions; partly because the German princes in whose territory the cities lay — there were very few "free and imperial cities" in the North of Germany — grew jealous and ordered them to discontinue their membership; partly because the governments of the foreign countries in the North gained more strength and resented German commercial influence. The Hansa, however, still exists in three of its members, Hamburg, Lübeck, and Bremen, which, in 1871, entered the new German Empire on the footing of sovereign states.

262. Conclusion. — For a time it almost seemed as if the future of Europe belonged to the enterprising cities and not to the kings and their larger states, so mighty were the city leagues. But their power was not to last. We may regret that the ascendency of these thriving little commonwealths declined, and we cannot but disapprove of many of the conditions which brought about this decline. Had their power kept increasing, however, it would have broken up larger national life and reduced all Europe to fragments like the powerless city states of ancient Greece.

For Further Reading.— Ogg, *Source Book*, No. 57; Robinson, *Readings*, I, pp. 406–415; Zimmern, *The Hansa Towns;* Walsh, *Thirteenth Century*, pp. 375 ff.; Walsh, *Century of Columbus*, pp. 169 ff.

CHAPTER XIV

LEARNING AND ARTS

A. Literature

263. Latin Literature. — The language of the learned was Latin and remained so for many centuries. Among the Latin productions of the Teutonic period we may mention particularly many *historical* works and the lives of Saints and other prominent persons.[1] Peculiar to the time are the *Chronicles*, which simply record, under each year, the important events without trying to connect them in any way. Some of them are confined to localities, convents, or churches; others, *e.g.* the famous Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, take in a whole nation. Chronicles are not history proper, but they furnish valuable material to the historians.

Many of these writings, lives of Saints particularly, contain much legendary matter. Those were not critically inclined times (§ 148). People believed in the possibility of miracles, and in a kindly Divine Providence. They were right so far. But in their credulity they often accepted the reports of miraculous events without much investigation. Then, just as with writers of our own days, they were subject to bias for or against certain rulers or nations or institutions. Yet all this leaves a very considerable number of reliable sources from which to draw knowledge of the period.

Poetry, too, at first, usually chose a Latin dress. Charlemagne's literary circle could boast of a goodly number of

[1] In his *Readings in European History*, Vol. I, James H. Robinson enumerates and briefly describes the chief historical sources for the Middle Ages. But this bibliography (placed at the end of the several chapters) can give but a faint idea of the large number of books from which historians draw their knowledge of those times.

creditable poetical productions, which did not remain without imitations. The period of the Ottos had the honor of being glorified by a poetess, the nun Hroswitha,[1] whose fertile and not unskillful pen produced a number of simple Latin dramas and panegyrical poems of considerable merit. Several epics, also, belong to the same period. The copious literature of the "Schoolmen" will be dealt with in a later chapter (§§ 273 ff.).

The struggle carried on by the Church for a more dignified and virtuous life in the clergy and against the encroachments of the secular power had an enlivening influence upon the whole intellectual life of Europe. A similar and even more powerful effect in every field of medieval activity followed the general stir caused by the Crusades.

264. Literature in National Languages. — At the time of the Crusades the national languages begin to be used much more extensively. Charlemagne had cultivated his German, Alfred the Great had introduced the tongue of Anglo-Saxon England into his prose writings. A number of poetical works had appeared in the course of several centuries in the languages of the people. But now this use became general. The following are a few of the important productions of the period.

Under the Hohenstaufens Germany developed lyric poetry of a high perfection. The chief theme of its *minnesingers* was love. Southern France had its *troubadours* with their amatorial songs, many of them notoriously corrupt. Spain produced the *Song of the Cid* (the national hero in the conflict with the Moors). In northern France the *trouveurs* celebrated King Arthur and his Table Round or the adventures of Charlemagne and his (real or fictitious) companions. An unknown German poet wove part of the national legends into a stately epic, the *Nibelungenlied*. The ballads of the North were shaped into the *Heimskringla* by a bard in far-off Iceland. These medieval works and many others richly repay careful reading.

[1] See *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, 1914, pp. 442 ff.

265. But the grandest product of medieval poetry is the *Divine Comedy* of the Italian Dante, "the most astonishing poem in the world, dwarfing all others."

Under the allegory of a journey through Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven, the poet gives expression to the most sublime thoughts that nature and Faith can furnish. Comparing him with Virgil, the great Roman, a critic said: "His metre is as pliable and flexible to every mood of emotion, his diction as plaintive and as sonorous. . . . Dante is even truer in description than Virgil, whether he paints the snow falling in the Alps, or the homeward flight of the birds, or the swelling of an angry torrent. But under this gorgeous pageantry there lies a unity of conception, a power of philosophic grasp, an earnestness of religion, which to the Roman poet is entirely unknown." (Quoted from Walsh, *Thirteenth Century*, p. 317.)

B. Schools and Universities

266. The Monastic and Cathedral Schools. — Before the inroads of the Northmen the schools of the Irish monasteries were celebrated throughout Europe (§§ 62, 102). On the continent Charlemagne's enlightened efforts gave a new impetus to school education. It was in the convent and cathedral schools established or renewed in consequence of his encouragement, and in similar institutions of later date, that the authors of the literature of the times (§ 263) had received their education. The instruction in mathematics and astronomy, however, was of a very primitive character. Natural sciences were very little cultivated.

But the causes mentioned in the beginning of the preceding paragraph worked a complete revolution. They brought about the establishment of universities, a means of instruction beyond which mankind has not as yet advanced.

267. The universities came into being gradually. The oldest, Bologna in Italy, grew from the famous schools of Law of that city. That of Paris was originally a union of the cathedral school with other schools. Several universities were started by dissat-

isfied students and professors seceding from other institutions. Thus Oxford in England owes its beginning to such a secession from Paris; the university of Pavia is an off-shoot of Bologna.

It required relatively little time for these new institutions to develop a regular system of teaching and government. The teachers were divided into several *faculties* for the various branches: theology, philosophy, medicine, law. What natural science there was went under philosophy. *A faculty of arts* gave the preliminary education, chiefly in the classics, — a course more or less resembling that covered in our high schools and colleges combined. The professors of each faculty elected a *dean*, as their head; the whole university was under an elective *rector*. In those days it was evident that in all questions of education the pope must have a decisive influence: in each university he was represented by the *chancellor*, who gave the teaching license to those whom the university had appointed.

The universities were completely cosmopolitan. One language, Latin, served for the lectures as well as for daily intercourse among professors and students. A German might be elected rector in Paris, or an Englishman in Bologna. The students flocked together from all countries indiscriminately. In the university each student belonged to a certain *nation*. But this did not necessarily coincide with the nation from which he came. In Paris there were four "nations," the French, the Normans, the Picards, the English; but the English nation embraced all the students from the northern countries, including the Germans. In Bologna there was one great division between those from Italy and those from "Beyond the Mountains," each class being again subdivided into some twenty "nations."

The universities soon procured great ecclesiastical and civil privileges. Teachers and students became exempt from the local magistrates. The institution thus was a republic in itself. The students were tried and punished for crimes not by royal or city courts but by the university authorities.

The young man who passed the examination at the end of his course in "Arts" was declared *Baccalaureus Artium,* Bachelor of Arts. Many were satisfied with this. Those who stayed for higher studies selected one of the other branches. The goal of their ambition was the title of *Doctor* (teacher) in their profession. (In some universities the title of *Magister,* Master, was equivalent to Doctor.)

The examination contained a written and an oral test but the oral was the more important. Besides the lectures of the professors there was a constant round of oral *repetitions* and above all numerous debates or *disputations.* Lent was the special season for disputations, and they were from time to time held with great pomp and ceremony.

While the first universities rose more or less spontaneously, the later ones were formally established by popes or, with the pope's coöperation, by secular princes, until by 1400 about fifty of them dotted Western Europe. The number of students was certainly very large, though such figures as, for Paris, 30,000, have been proved to be exaggerations.

With the rise of these new institutions of learning the older schools did not disappear. Some affiliated with the universities. Others ceased to teach the higher branches and finally found their place as preparatory schools, corresponding to the faculty of arts in the universities.

268. The Students of the Universities. — The student body commonly contained men in civil and ecclesiastical positions, not to speak of numerous nobles. Even cardinals are mentioned as students. For poor scholars liberal provisions were made. Medieval life was more fluid than we can easily comprehend. Merchants, soldiers of fortune, friars, journeymen (§ 257), were always on the move. But the wandering scholar was in eminence. The laws of many countries afforded him special protection. But he often begged his bread. With the secular priests and in the monasteries large and small, he commonly met with a kind reception. (Even now in places which have remained Catholic the young student is the welcome guest of the priest and of those monastic institutions which have survived the ravages of time.) Young men thought nothing of passing from Oxford to Paris or Pavia to sit at the feet of some new famous teacher, and to see the world — another kind of education. They often traveled in bands with much jollity and song and sometimes with much disorder. The fact that Latin was the language of all universities encouraged this freedom of movement.

C. Doctrines and Teachers in the Universities

269. University teaching embraced everything that was considered worth knowing. The principal branch was *theology*, that is, the revealed tenets of Christianity. The Bible and the decrees of Councils and of popes, as well as the writings of earlier authors, were the object of detailed study. Even when not studied as a special branch they formed the groundwork of all other theological teaching. Next came *philosophy*, that is, the knowledge of things from merely natural sources. The philosopher of the Middle Ages, like his predecessor of ancient Greece, tried to penetrate by reasoning into the very essence of things, starting from what is known to everybody, and driving his conclusions to what is knowable by dint of deeper thinking.

Theology as well as a good deal of philosophy had been studied and taught from the beginning of Christianity. But at this period another method, though not altogether a new one, was employed. This is called *Scholasticism* (school method), and the great teachers who used it are the *Scholastics* or the *Schoolmen*. Scholasticism of course does not teach new doctrines. But it teaches them in a peculiar systematic way.

(1) All the various tenets bearing on one point are brought together, those for instance on the Blessed Trinity, or the Redemption, or Original Sin. Thus the entire doctrine appears as one great organism. This had never been done to such an extent. Now it became the rule. The catechisms of to-day have the same feature. In fact they are tiny extracts of Scholastic theology.

(2) Scholasticism not only adduces proofs for every individual point of doctrine, but it also shows the connection between various points, and everywhere compares expressly the natural knowledge of philosophy with that received from God by supernatural revelation.

(3) The constant appeal to natural wisdom for the purpose

of proving, explaining, and appreciating the great truths of Faith is perhaps the most striking peculiarity of Scholasticism.

270. As to the relation between theology and philosophy, the Schoolmen as well as all Christians hold that there can be no contradiction between the truths revealed directly by the God of Truth and Wisdom and those embodied by the same God in the visible works of His hands. The latter truths are the contents of philosophy and the natural sciences; the former make up the articles of our Faith. An opposition between the two can exist in appearance only, and evidently, in case of such an apparent opposition, we must not presume revelation to have erred but philosophy. The source of revealed truth is infallible. But human reason, subject to countless influences of pride and other passions, of custom and surrounding, is liable to go astray, and as a matter of fact has endless blunders on its record. It is not philosophy that has saved the world from barbarism and from the mire of immorality!

271. Arabic Influence — Aristotle. — As the first universities had grown out of the older schools, so they continued in the traditions received from former institutions. But about the beginning of the thirteenth century the West of Europe became acquainted through the Arabs with the complete works of *Aristotle*, the greatest of the ancient Greek philosophers, of which little had been known before. (See § 74, and *Ancient History*, § 316.) In the course of the century, however, copies of the original Greek text were obtained through the Greeks in the East, and better translations made. These books worked a real revolution. Aristotle's books, supplemented by the master hand of St. Thomas and other prominent teachers, became the foundation of all philosophical studies. Aristotle was *The Philosopher*.

This was the only influence exerted by Arab philosophers on Scholasticism. None of the *philosophic tenets* of the Schoolmen had been taken from original Arabic books. The attacks of Mohammedans on Christianity, however, forced the Christians to study many points more explicitly than they would have done otherwise.

In the line of *natural sciences* the Arabs rendered valuable services. In medicine, geography, mathematics, chemistry, and physics, they transmitted much positive knowledge to the eager scholars of the new universities.

272. The Schoolmen laid great stress upon dialectics, that is, the art of reasoning and scientific debating.[1] The very heart of dialectics is the *syllogism.* The syllogism is the natural process of reasoning expressed in clear form. All men make most extensive use of it, without being aware of the fact. Suppose you are in a strange city and wish to go to Lincoln Park. You hear from a policeman that any brown car will take you there. You watch for a brown car and jump into the next that comes. You have used a syllogism, which if fully expressed would look like this:

> Any brown car will take me to Lincoln Park.
> But this is a brown car.
> Therefore it will take me to Lincoln Park.

In scholastic disputations syllogisms are always expressly formulated. The proceeding is exactly like that in which the detailed proofs of mathematical problems are given. This method cuts short all beating about the bush.

The syllogism cannot teach anything entirely new. It can only bring out what is concealed in the "premises." Nobody has ever claimed that it can discover unknown forces of nature. But all scientists apply it

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[1] Here should be mentioned the brilliant but rather superficial *Peter Abelard*, 1079–1142, who attracted immense crowds when teaching in Paris before the university of that city had been formed. His ability in disputing is unquestioned. "But he appears to have preferred victory to truth." In consequence of a love affair he was forced to leave Paris, entered the Benedictine Order, which he left on account of difficulties with his superiors, and established himself in a lonely place, where he again attracted multitudes of eager listeners. Abelard was at war with everybody. His teachings contained many errors. St. Bernard of Clairvaux brought about his condemnation. "He was condemned not because he advocated the rights of reason, nor because he applied dialectics to the discussion of the Blessed Trinity. . . . But because of the extravagant claims he urged on behalf of reason, and because of the heresy into which he fell." (Turner, *History of Philosophy*, p. 292.) *To him, in spite of all his faults, is due the importance attached to dialectics by the Schoolmen.*

very widely in the further exploitation of natural powers and in their attempts to determine the character, causes, and effects of such forces.[1]

273. Some of the Prominent Schoolmen. — (1) Blessed Albert the Great (died 1280), a German nobleman, joined the Order of St. Dominic in 1223. He taught at Paris and other places, but chiefly at Cologne, and everywhere eclipsed his fellow professors. Prominent as theologian and philosopher, he is from our standpoint more remarkable as a scientist. In one of his books he describes, for instance, all the trees and herbs known at his time, and adds: "All that is here set down is the result of our own observation, or has been borrowed from authors whom we know to have written what their personal experience confirmed: for in these matters experience alone can give certainty."

FRIAR TEACHING THE GLOBE. — From a thirteenth century manuscript.

Modern scientists fully appreciate his works. "He was acquainted with the sleep of plants, with the periodical opening and closing of blossoms, with the diminution of sap through evaporation from the cuticle of the leaves, and with the influence of the distribution of the bundles of vessels on the folial indentations." "He considers that from the equator to the South Pole the earth is not only inhabitable but in all probability actually inhabited, except directly at the Poles, where he imagines the cold to be excessive. If there be any animals there, he says, they must have very thick skins which are probably of a white

[1] These remarks show that the syllogism is neither the only nor the most primary mode of "cognition." See handbooks of Logics or Dialectics, for instance, the little booklet, *The Laws of Thought*, by Wm. Poland, S.J.

color. The intensity of the cold is, however, tempered by the action of the sea. He smiles at the simplicity of those who suppose that persons living at the opposite region of the earth must fall off." (Quoted from Walsh, *Thirteenth Century*, pp. 48, 50.) He was indeed much in advance of his age. The uneducated among his contemporaries began to suspect him of witchcraft.[1]

274. (2) St. Thomas Aquinas (died 1274). — One of Blessed Albert's greatest merits is to have trained the "Prince of the Schools," St. Thomas Aquinas. St. Thomas, born at Roccasecca, in Italy, was a relative of Emperor Frederick II. When still rather young he joined the Dominican Order. He taught chiefly in Paris and at Italian institutions. His renown was so great that once, when he returned to Paris, the king and the whole city came out to meet him. During his twenty years of teaching he wrote his numerous works, which cover most of the subjects of theology and philosophy, natural sciences included.[2] His mind was both speculative and constructive. Dominating in his works is the idea of the fundamental unity of knowledge, arising from the fact that all truths emanate from the One God either by nature or by revelation. Indeed no Christian scholar has ever taught the contrary, but nobody before St. Thomas put it forth so forcibly and with such a complete command of all the results obtained by previous thinkers. St. Thomas was eminently a common-sense man. He took the good things he discovered in Greek, Arabic, and even Jewish, works; improved on them wherever his keen intellect detected errors or shortcomings; and then each found its place in *the system* which he was building up, — the funda-

[1] In connection with our previous chapter on the cities it will be of interest to know that this Dominican friar and university professor was repeatedly appealed to as arbiter in the quarrels of the city of Cologne with its several antagonists, among whom was the archbishop himself. "From this time dates the most flourishing period of the commerce of Cologne."

[2] It is said that in one of his treatises on chemistry he first used the Arabic term *amalgam*.

mental lines of which were radiating from the One God of Wisdom and Truth.

His books in print fill nineteen folio volumes, and have been translated from their original Latin into many languages, including Hebrew. His most important work is the *Summa Theologica*, a comprehensive and systematic presentation of the entire field of theology and philosophy. Perhaps no work possesses in a higher degree all the characteristics of the scholastic method. It still is and will ever remain the classic in the Catholic schools of theology and philosophy. Bl. Albert the Great surpasses him in extensiveness of knowledge. But it was the providential task of St. Thomas to be the *Organizer of Christian Learning.*

275. (3) **Roger Bacon** (died 1294?) was probably another disciple of Albert the Great.[1] This brilliant English Franciscan for some time enjoyed the greatest renown as professor at Oxford University. He was a good philosopher and correct theologian, though in philosophy he adhered to a few outlandish opinions. But he was above all an extremely progressive scientist. His "Great Work" is a cyclopedia of thirteenth century knowledge in geography, mathematics, music, and physics.

He had learned of the ocean east of China, and speculated convincingly upon the possibility of reaching Asia by sailing west into the Atlantic (§ 344). He prophesied that in time wagons and ships would move "with incredible speed," without the help of horses or sails, and also that man would learn to navigate the air. In 1358 Brunetto Latini, the tutor of Dante, visited Bacon, and wrote as follows to a friend in Italy: "Among other things he showed me a black, ugly stone called a magnet, which has the surprising quality of drawing iron to it; and if a needle be rubbed upon it and afterward fastened to a straw, so that it will swim upon water, it will instantly turn to the pole star. . . . Therefore, be the night never so dark, neither moon nor stars visible, yet shall the sailor by help of this needle be able to steer his vessel aright.

[1] Roger Bacon, the thirteenth-century friar, must not be confused with Francis Bacon, his countryman, of three centuries later.

This discovery, so useful to all who travel by sea, must remain concealed until other times, because no master mariner dare use it, lest he fall under imputation of being a magician; nor would sailors put to sea with one who carried an instrument so evidently constructed by the devil. A time may come when these prejudices, such hindrances to researches into the secrets of nature, will be overcome; and then mankind will reap benefits from the labor of such men as Friar Bacon, *who now meet only with obloquy and reproach.*"

It is to be deplored that this able and indefatigable scholar did not possess the character of an Albert the Great, whom he called ignorant and presumptuous. Friar Bacon ran amuck against the papal court, the bishops, the Mendicant Orders, the Scholastic method, and against all preachers and teachers in Christendom. Many of the things against which he inveighed were real abuses. But his inconsiderate ways made him many enemies. The superiors of his Order silenced and even imprisoned him, while it appears that Pope Clement IV took his side. "Had he possessed as much prudence as scientific insight, he would probably have succeeded in his reforms and conferred inestimable benefit on Scholastic philosophy. Albert, who was less of an innovator than Bacon, contributed far more than Bacon did to the advancement of science in the thirteenth century." (Turner, *History of Philosophy*, p. 339.)

276. Conclusion. — It would take too much space to give even the names of the most prominent of the Scholastics. In particular, St. Bonaventura and the "subtle Doctor," Duns Scotus, both of the Order of St. Francis, would deserve more than a passing notice.

Soon, however, there arose dissensions amongst the Scholastics themselves. All agreed in the dogmas of Faith, and in all important philosophical questions as well. But in points not so directly bearing on revealed truths they reserved the liberty of disagreeing, unless forced by proofs which they themselves recognized as valid. These disputes at times assumed a character little in keeping with professorial dignity or even with Christian charity, and considerably retarded progress in theological and philosophical investigation. But they leave intact the immense merits of the Scholastic systems as such.

The other branches of learning were studied with equal vigor in the universities. Albert the Great and Roger Bacon were by no means the only representatives of natural science. As a matter of fact, however, this study declined in the course of the fourteenth century. The great minds of the time were taken up with theological and philosophical controversies, and, on the other hand, the popular mind does not seem to have been prepared for great progress in this line. *That the Church officially opposed the sciences is an entirely unwarranted assertion.*

For Further Reading. — These questions have been admirably treated in Dr. Walsh's *The Thirteenth, Greatest of Centuries*, and *The Popes and Science*. Every chapter in these books is both interesting and instructive; in particular, in the latter work, the chapters entitled: The Supposed Papal Prohibition of Dissection; The Supposed Papal Prohibition of Chemistry, — in the former, What and How They Studied at the Universities; Libraries and Bookmen; Great Explorers and the Foundation of Geography. The very lucidly written *History of Philosophy*, by Right Rev. Wm. Turner, which gives Scholasticism its proper treatment, may also be consulted.

D. Architecture

277. The Older Styles. — As models for their own churches the first Christians did not take the ancient pagan temples, which had never served as places for religious assemblies of the people but merely as sanctuaries for the gods or goddesses. The divine services of the Christians, which are a communion of the people with their God and Redeemer, called for buildings in which the whole congregation could gather. Hence the basilicas, which served for the sessions of the courts of justice and for purposes of commerce, were much better adapted to their needs. They were rectangular halls, often divided lengthwise by rows of columns, with a semicircular apse at one end. (See *Ancient World*, § 623.) Few changes were required to transform such buildings into churches. For several centuries the Christian places of worship were erected in the *Basilica Style*.

CATHEDRAL OF AMIENS. — Gothic style. Begun in 1220. One of the finest of medieval structures.

In the countries of the Greek Empire this style was partly replaced by the *Byzantine Style*, which groups the whole structure around one or several rotundas or semirotundas. (See picture of St. Sophia, near § 63.)

Architecture, as indeed all arts, suffered greatly during the invasions of the Teutons. And, except in the lands under Byzantine influence, few buildings of note were erected. About the year 1000, however, a new style developed slowly from the older basilica. It is called *Romanesque* or, in Northern Italy, Lombard; in Normandy and England, Norman. The buildings became larger and higher, and *their ground plan assumed the form of a cross*. For the flat ceiling or open rafters of the roof a *round-arched* vault was substituted. The round arch is employed in doors, windows, and other parts of the building. Hundreds of churches, erected in this majestic and imposing style, are still standing. They commonly have several towers, which form an integral part of the plan of the structure.

278. The Gothic Style [1] originated in northern France about 1200, and spread to all Christian countries. In Italy and Spain, however, it never obtained the dominant position which it enjoyed in France, England, and Germany. The architects of this enterprising age were looking for something grander than the Romanesque style could offer. The width of the round arch must always be exactly twice its height. The round ceiling rested entirely on the side walls of the building. These consequently had to be made very strong, and could not afford to be weakened by the insertion of numerous wide windows. The architect of the twelfth century introduced the *pointed arch*, which admits of a great variety as to width and height. He, moreover, broke up the vault itself by inserting cross ribs, which instead of resting the weight of the vault against the wall's

[1] This appellation, now firmly established in the terminology of architecture, is a misnomer and was originally used in Italy as a term of contempt. The Gothic style has nothing to do with either the East or the West Goths.

entire length transferred it to several points. These points, therefore, carried the whole side thrust of the vault. To give them the necessary strength various means were employed, the most ingenious being the *flying buttress*, which instead of making the wall look more massive and

Flying Buttresses. — From Norwich Cathedral.

clumsy could easily be so devised as to add to the grace and richness of the building. The walls might now be made lighter, and they admitted more and larger windows. The structure rose still more in height. The plans generally provided for pointed spires. The towers, though perhaps not so numerous as in the Romanesque style, presented less massive sides. Everywhere the *vertical line* began to dominate and the horizontal line to disappear. The entire structure grew into

one *Sursum Corda* (lift up your hearts) expressed in stone. Many people consider the Gothic churches the grandest buildings man has ever devised.

The secular buildings of the Gothic period, too, have their peculiar character, though they commonly do not possess all the characteristic features of the style. But the grand city halls of Flanders and Germany, the manors of medieval England, and the castles of Northern France show the possibilities of the Gothic architecture along lines distinct from that of church building.

279. The other fine arts were practiced chiefly in connection with and in dependence on architecture and were therefore less developed. The painters, for instance, had not as yet quite learned how to introduce perspective into their pictures, or to represent the members of the human body in correct proportions. But a very creditable beginning had been made. The sculptors, too, produced statues for decorative purposes, many of which are of considerable value.

For Further Reading. — "The Cathedral-Builders of Medieval Europe," in Bp. Shahan's *The Middle Ages*, pp. 311–354. Also chapters on several arts (easy to find) in Walsh's *Thirteenth, Greatest of Centuries*.

Exercises. — (1) Dates: 1077 (Canossa), 1122, 1107, 1096–1291 (Crusades), 1187, 1216 (Dominican Order Approved), 1223 (Franciscan Order Approved), 1274 (Death of St. Thomas Aquinas).

(2) List of terms for brief explanation, *e.g.* Kingdom of Jerusalem, Latin Empire, Craft Gilds, Byzantine Style, etc., Godfrey of Bouillon, Innocent III, Gregory VII, etc.

PART II. FROM THE END OF THE CRUSADES TO THE DISRUPTION OF RELIGIOUS UNITY

CHAPTER XV

ENGLAND AND FRANCE

We left the story of England in § 186 with the accession of Edward III in 1327, and the story of France, in § 196, with the rule of Philip the Fair, which closed in 1314. *For the next hundred and thirty years, the stories of the two countries are intertwined.*

A. First Two Periods of the Hundred Years' War

280. Opening of the Struggle. — When Edward III came to the throne (1327–1377) most of England's old possessions in France were gone; but he was still Duke of Aquitaine — and, in name, a vassal of the French king for that province. Like Edward I, the third Edward strove strenuously — but vainly — to unite Scotland to England by arms; and the French king, continuing the old policy of Philip Augustus (§ 192), toward his too powerful vassal, gave aid to Scotland. Therefore, in 1338, Edward gladly seized an excuse to declare war on France. This was the beginning of the "Hundred Years' War," which lasted, with two truces, until 1453.

281. To strengthen his position Edward set up a fanciful claim to the French crown;[1] and from that time until the

[1] The following table gives the Capetian kings for this period, with dates of accession. See § 191 for the earlier Capetians.

Louis X	1314	Charles IV	1322
Philip V	1316	Philip VI (Valois)	1328

nineteenth century, each English king kept also the title "King of France." **But at bottom the war was commercial in purpose.** England wanted markets for her products. In particular, her merchants wanted to *sell their wool* in the Flemish manufacturing towns, and to *buy the famous Bordeaux wines* of Aquitaine. In

1 2 3

DRESS OF FRENCH LADIES, FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

1. Middle Class; 2. Lower Class; 3. Nobility.

ENGLISH LADY ON HORSEBACK, FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

that day every country shackled foreign merchants with restrictions and tolls; and the easiest way to get access to French markets seemed to be to conquer France.

John	1350	*Louis XI*	1461
Charles V (the Wise)	1364	Charles VIII	1483
Charles VI	1380	Louis XII	1498
Charles VII	1422	*Francis I*	1515–1547

The first three were sons of Philip IV, and left no sons. The French nobles then chose Charles' cousin, Philip of Valois, for king. The mother of Edward III was a daughter of Philip the Fair. French law, however, did not recognize inheritance of the crown through females. And if it had, then, through other princesses, there were French nobles with better claims than Edward. Edward did not put forward his claim until after war had begun.

282. The war was waged on French soil. — The English gained brilliant victories, overran France repeatedly, and brought home much plunder. "No woman," says an English chronicler, "but had robes, furs, *featherbeds*, and utensils, from French cities." England was prosperous, too, in the early period of the war. The people felt none of its direct ravages — except for occasional raids by Norman pirates on the coast — and for many years they bore cheerfully the cost of campaigns abroad.

LOCALITIES OF HUNDRED YEARS' WAR.

283. The Battle of Crécy. — The two great victories of this first period of the war were *Crécy and Poitiers*.

In 1346 Edward led an army through the north of France, ravaging crops, burning peasant villages, and turning the country into a blackened desert, to within sight of the walls of Paris, — in the usual fashion of warfare in those chivalrous days. Philip VI (less capable than most Capetians but a brave prince) gathered the feudal forces of France in an immense host to crush the invader. Edward III retreated toward the coast, but was overtaken at Crécy by five times his numbers and won a complete victory.

Edward III had drawn up his troops, less than sixteen thousand in all, on the slope of a hill, with a ditch in front to check the charge of horsemen. Behind the ditch stood the English bowmen, the main force of the army; and Edward even dismounted his few hundred men-at-arms to fight on foot among them and so strengthen their lines against a charge. This force, which was to meet the French onset, was placed under the command of the king's oldest son, the young Edward, known better as "*the Black Prince*," while King Edward III, with a reserve, took stand higher up the hill.

The first charge of the French nobles seemed for a moment about to swallow up the little English army, and the young Edward sent to his father for reënforcement. But the king from his higher ground could see that all was going well. "Is my son dead, or unhorsed, or wounded? Then go back, and bid them not send to me again so long as he lives. Let the boy win his spurs, for, if God so please, I will that the honor of the day be his."

The honor really belonged to the English yeomen, — the men of the six-foot long-bow and heavy, yard-long shafts winged with feathers from gray-goose wings. The English free peasants were trained from childhood to draw "a mighty bow" — as English ballads called the national weapon — by "laying the body to it," when main strength, unskilled, could not have bent it. The archer shot nearly a quarter of a mile (four hundred yards), and drove his arrows through all ordinary iron armor; or, if the knight were clothed in "armor of proof" from Milan, he took deadly aim, at closer quarters, at openings for eyes and mouth, or at any exposed joint. Confident in their skill the bowmen coolly faced the ponderously charging mass, pouring in their arrows, says a French chronicler, "wherever they saw the thickest press," and letting few French knights reach the English lines.[1]

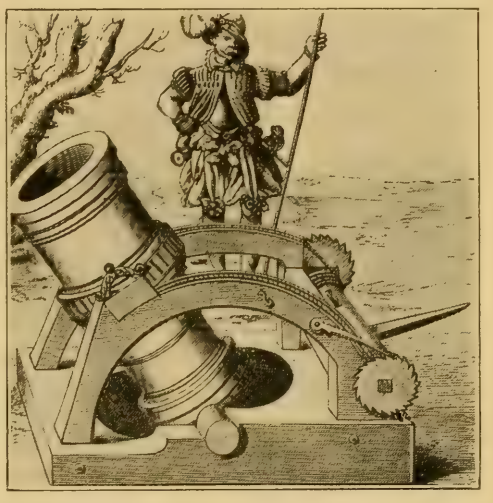
One chronicler of the day says that gunpowder was used at Crécy. The English, he reports, had several small "bombards," "which, with fire, and noise like God's thunder, threw little iron balls *to frighten the horses!*" *Cannon* certainly came into use about this time; but the

[1] Ogg's *Source Book*, No. 76, gives Froissart's description of Crécy.

first ones were made by fastening bars of iron together with hoops; and the gunpowder was full of impurities and very weak. Cannon were of little use for a century or more. Then they began to be used to batter down the walls of castles and cities. It was longer still before firearms became the chief weapon of the infantry.

A sequel to the battle of Crécy was the siege and capture of *Calais*, the port that dominates the narrowest place of the Channel. It remained in English hands for two centuries,— an ever open door for an invasion of France.

284. Poitiers — Peace of Bretigny.—Ten years later the Black Prince, now in sole command, repeated the victory of Crécy at Poitiers with the same tactics. *The invincibility of the feudal horseman was gone.* King John the Good of France with countless French noblemen became prisoners.



A "Bombard." — From a sixteenth century German woodcut.

The misery caused by the devastations of this war, together with the heavy ransoms for the captured lords, which ultimately had to come from the peasants, caused a terrible rising of the rural population. It is called the *Jacquerie*, from *Jacques Bonhomme*, which from this time on was the nickname for the lower classes. Bands amounting to a hundred thousand men roamed through the West and the North of France without plan or leader, inspired only with a blind passion for wholesale destruction. The nobles and the cities retaliated with every manner of cruelty. The movement brought no alleviation whatsoever to the peasants.

By the *Peace of Bretigny*, 1360, Edward III retained the possession of Aquitaine as a French vassal, but gave up all claims to anything north of the Loire except Calais.

285. The Second Period of the War. — In 1369 a dispute concerning Aquitaine found both parties eager to renew the war. The French king now was Charles V (*The Wise*), and the victories all belonged to the French side. Place after place fell to them, until, at the end, in 1380, *England kept only two towns, — Bordeaux and Calais.*

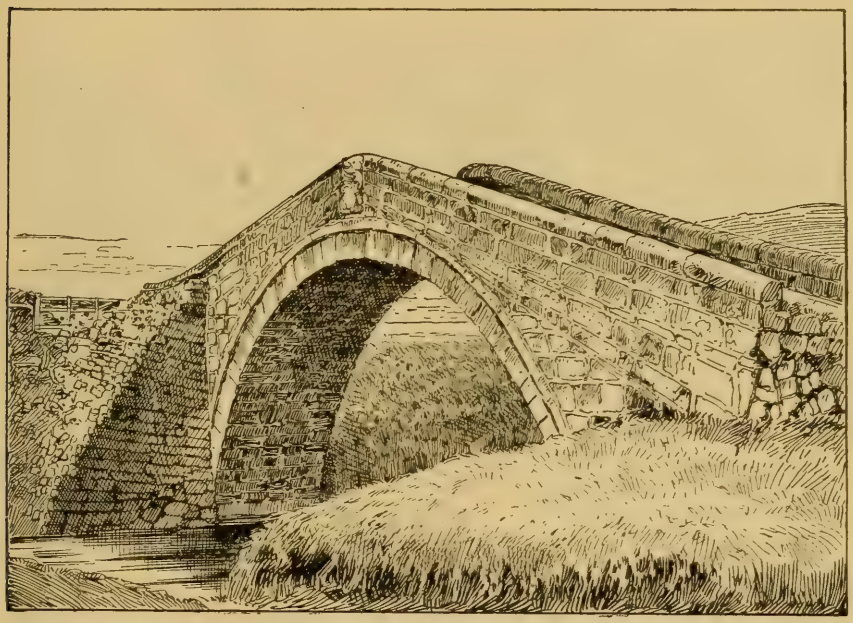
B. English Development during the War

286. The Black Death. — French success in the second period of the war had been due not alone to Charles the Wise, but even more to new conditions in England. The happy prosperity of the first part of the reign of Edward III had received a terrible shock from the *Black Death.* This was the most famous of all the plagues of history. It had been devastating the continent for some years, — moving west from Asia, — and it is believed to have *carried off at least a third of the population of Europe.* In 1347, the year after Crécy, it reached England, and almost at a blow it certainly swept away a third of the people there. One bright fact shines out from the universal misery — the splendid devotion of the clergy and religious. They might easily have kept themselves safest; but everywhere, through their self-sacrificing care of the dying, they suffered most. In some counties, more than two thirds of the parishes were left without clergy.[1]

287. Serfdom Begins to Disappear. — The ravages of the Black Death had at least one good effect for the lower classes. They accelerated the cessation of serfdom. As the plague had carried off at least one half of the farm laborers, the survivors thought that labor had risen in value and refused to do the same amount of work as before the plague, unless they were given additional wages. Parliament directly interposed, forbidding the lords to pay more and the laborers to demand more than

[1] See Gasquet, *The Black Death*, Chapters IX, "The Desolation of the Country," and X, "Some Consequences of the Mortality."

formerly.[1] Such prohibitions, though at times cruelly enforced, were very commonly evaded by both the employers and employees. To keep his serfs from running away the landlord made more and more favorable terms with them. The tendency was to allow the villeins to pay money rent instead of giving his services, and then to hire him back for money wages. This movement, however, which would make the villeins free



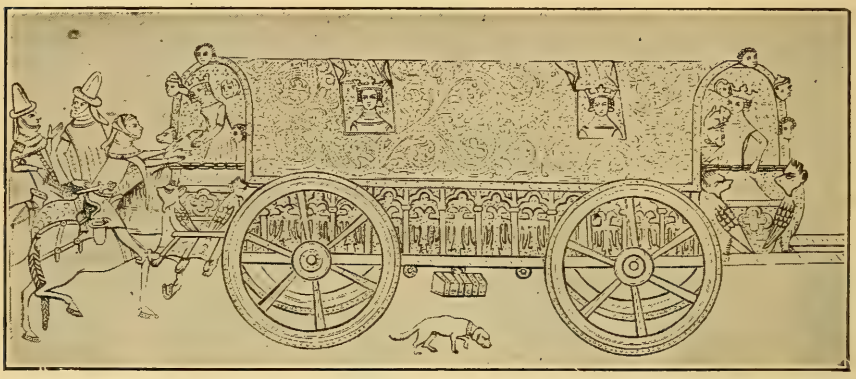
A Fourteenth Century Bridge in Rural England, near Danby in Oxfordshire. — From Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life.*

yeomen, was very slow. Half-freed serfs were often forced back into serfdom by legal trickery and downright violence. The farming population continued in a state of unrest for a hundred years.

During this period of deep dissatisfaction a man arose whose teachings were destined to be of serious consequences for England and still more for the continent.

[1] The *Pennsylvania Reprints* (II, 5) gives the famous *Statute of Laborers.*

288. John Wyclif was a professor of considerable reputation at the university of Oxford. At this time the popes who resided at Avignon in France (§ 328) and were cut off from most of the sources of their revenue in Italy, insisted upon the payment of taxes by ecclesiastical dignitaries. Their demands, though justifiable in themselves, were opposed in England as well as in the rest of Europe. Moreover, the pitiable dearth of priests caused by the Black Death inclined the authorities to lower the



English Carriage, Fourteenth Century. — After Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life.* In the manuscript from which this picture is taken, the carriage is represented drawn by five horses tandem, driven by two postilions. Such carriages were a princely luxury, equaling in value a herd of from four hundred to sixteen hundred oxen. They were the extra trains of those times.

standard for those to be promoted to the priesthood. All this, together with his unaccountable aversion for the Mendicant Orders, became for John Wyclif the occasion of a violent opposition against the members of all religious Orders and the clergy in general. The Church, he maintained, must have no temporal goods at all. The secular authority must deprive the clergy of all their possessions. At any rate, no man who is in the state of mortal sin can be the owner of anything. Strong as were his teachings upon clerical poverty, however, they failed to impress him with the desirability of giving up the ecclesiastical property which he himself had obtained — the rich vicarage of Lutter-

worth. Nor was he consistent enough to apply the mortal sin principle to the possessions of secular lords. He soon denied transubstantiation, a fact which made him a heretic even in the eyes of the less educated, though in his controversies he cloaked his denial in obscure language. To have ready at hand an authority to oppose to that of the Church he declared the Bible the sole source of Faith. He falsified the existing translations of the Bible to suit his heresies.[1] He was as untiring as he was violent in his attacks upon the clergy, the bishops, and the pope. The blameless morality and abstemiousness of his private life contributed a great deal to increase his power over the common people. Prominent dissatisfied noblemen, above all the powerful John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster (see note to § 291), took him under their protection.

289. Lollardism. — To spread his errors far and wide Wyclif organized, about 1380, the *poor priests* who were to travel up and down the country and preach his new doctrines. Very few of them were real priests. They and their adherents were called *Lollards* (from a word which means to sing in a low voice). They went farther in their doctrines than their master, declaimed against the celibacy of the clergy, made the validity of the sacraments depend upon the worthiness of the minister, rejected ceremonies and pilgrimages (a famous shrine of the Blessed Virgin in Walsingham they nicknamed the Witch of Walsingham), and, of course, they denied the presence of Jesus Christ in the Blessed Sacrament. More consistent than Wyclif himself, many of them demanded that laymen, too, if in mortal sin, should be deprived of their offices and property. Their invectives against the rich sound very much like the talk of present-day socialists. Such harangues did not fail to make an impression at a time when the minds of the working classes were agitated by a keener sense of the real and imaginary wrongs they were suffering, and by the desire of an improvement which,

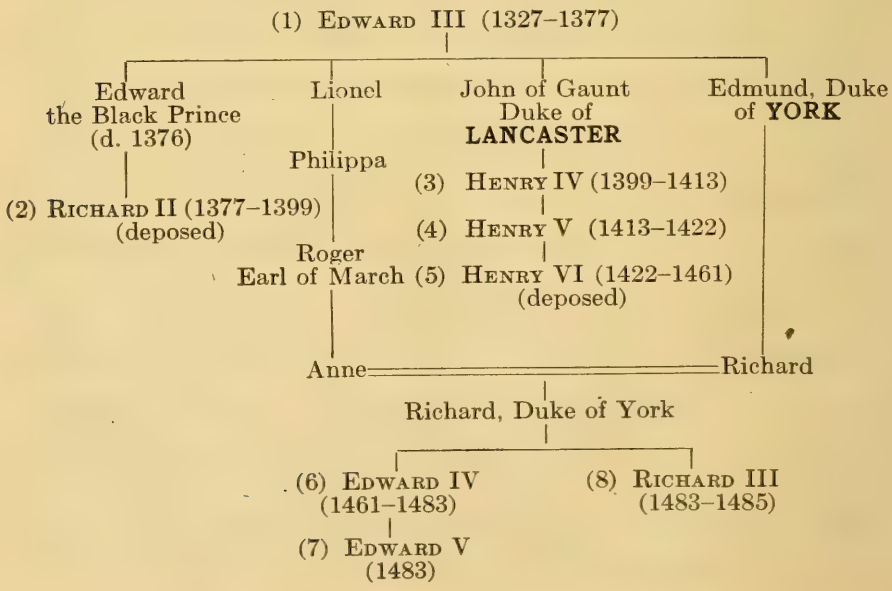
[1] See Gasquet, *Eve of the Reformation*, Chapter VIII.

they thought, was almost within their reach. How far Wyclif and his Lollards are *directly* responsible for the events next to be treated cannot now be ascertained.

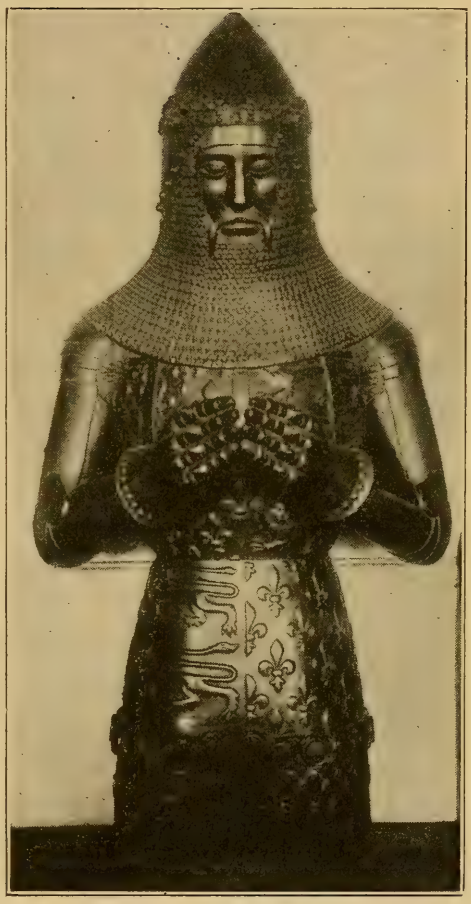
Lollardism remained a danger for about fifty years. Ecclesiastical and secular authorities combined for its suppression, for which they resorted to the methods of the Inquisition. By the middle of the fifteenth century the heresy had ceased to have any noticeable influence. The formation of the Anglican Church by Henry VIII is entirely independent of Lollardism. The logical successors of Wyclif are not to be sought in England but in Bohemia (§ 332).

290. The general confusion was increased by weakness in the government. — Edward's hand lost its firm control, in old age, with much sickness and family trouble, and he died in 1377. His eldest son, the Black Prince, had died before him; and he was succeeded by his grandson.[1] That prince, Richard II, was a mere boy, and the government was distracted by dissensions among his counselors.

[1] The following table will show the succession of English kings for the rest of this chapter; also the conflicting claims that will call for attention in § 299. For Edward III, refer back to the table in § 187.



291. The Peasant Rising of 1381. — While England was in this state of confusion and discontent, Parliament passed a heavy poll tax, bearing with unfair weight on the poor. This proved a match to set the realm ablaze. With amazing suddenness, the peasantry rose in arms. From all sides they marched upon London, destroyed the deer parks and fishponds of the gentry, slew the lawyers and court officials whom they chanced to meet, burned the court rolls which testified to the villeins' services, and after much destruction and plundering in the metropolis, murdered the Archbishop of Canterbury.[1] The lawlessness, however, did not go so far as might have been expected. The boy king with rare courage rode out among the insurgents. *Wat Tyler*, the most dangerous of their leaders, drew his dagger against the king. He was instantly dispatched by Walworth, the Mayor of London. The king promised the peasants abolition of



Effigy from the Tomb of the Black Prince. — On the left side of his armor appears the English royal coat of arms, the Leopards; on the right side the French lilies, to signify his and his father's claim to the crown of France (§ 281).

[1] In spite of these excesses, the English peasants did not show that spirit of wanton destruction which characterized the Jacquerie in France (§ 284), and the Peasants' War in Germany (§ 361).

serfdom. For days a force of thirty clerks was kept busy writing out brief charters containing the king's promises. But when the peasants had scattered to their villages, both houses of Parliament declared that Richard's promise was void, because he could not give away the gentry's property — the services due to them — without their consent. Now that the danger was over, the ringleaders of the rising were punished without mercy.

This outcome of the unfortunate revolt considerably strengthened the opposition of the possessing classes to a liberation of the serfs. But services unwillingly rendered cannot be long maintained. As the years passed, the conditions which made for the abolition of serfdom were too strong. After some time the same movement set in again, and by 1450 villeinage had passed away from England forever.

292. The growth of parliament during the Hundred Years' War was very important. Constant war made it necessary for Edward III and his successors to ask parliament for many grants of money. Parliament supplied the king generously; but it took advantage of his needs to secure new powers for itself. These gains may be classed under nine heads.

(1) It became an established principle that "redress of grievances" must *precede* a "grant of supply." That is, the king must consent to such new laws as parliament wanted *before* it gave him money to carry on his government.

(2) In the closing years of Edward III the *Good Parliament* (1376) "impeached" and removed his ministers, using the same forms that have been used in impeachments ever since in English-speaking countries.

(3) When Richard II was old enough to take the government into his own hands, he tried to rule without parliament. He put to death, or drove into exile, leading nobles whose opposition he feared; and then, surrounding parliament with his troops, he compelled it to grant him a tax for life, with other absolute powers. Soon England rose against him, *and*

the Parliament of 1399 deposed him, electing a cousin (Henry of Lancaster) *in his place.*

Richard II was the last Plantagenet king. The note to § 290 gives the Lancastrian reigns and those of the family that followed.

Richard's reign began with bloody treachery toward the English peasants, and it ended when he attempted equal treachery toward the nobles and middle classes. Shakspere has won undeserved sympathy for the tyrant by the pathetic lines put into his mouth at deposition, when Richard declares his willingness to give —

> " My gorgeous palace for a hermitage,
> My gay apparel for an alms-man's gown . . .
> And my large kingdom for a little grave."

But we must understand that this deposition by parliament is one of the chief landmarks in the growth of English (and American) freedom. *The next kings owed their title to parliament, and were dependent upon it.*

(4) The new king, Henry IV, frankly recognized his dependence on parliament. Under him the lower house (House of Commons; § 183) made good its claims that all money bills must originate with it (a practice that has been common to all English-speaking legislatures ever since), and that the royal officers must report to it the way in which they expended money (1407).

(5) The Commons secured the right to judge of the election of their own members.

(6) They compelled the king to dismiss his ministers and appoint new ones satisfactory to parliament.

(7) Freedom of speech in parliament and freedom from arrest, except by the order of parliament itself, became recognized privileges of all members.

(8) On three different occasions during Henry's reign, parliament passed acts fixing the succession to the throne.

(9) So far, when parliament had wanted a new law, it only *petitioned* the king to enact one of a given kind. When the

king had consented, and parliament had adjourned, the royal officers, in putting the law into form, often inserted words which really defeated parliament's purpose. But now, under Henry V (1414), parliament began to pass "bills," which the king had to accept or reject, and the wording of which he could not change without reference back to parliament.

293. The "Liberties of Englishmen." — Thus under the Lancastrians there was established in the breasts of the English middle classes a proud consciousness of English liberty as a precious inheritance. With right they believed it superior to that possessed by any other people of the time. As a French historian says (Duruy, *Middle Ages*, 436), "In the middle of the fifteenth century, the English people had in Magna Carta a declaration of their rights, in the jury a guarantee for their safety as individuals, and in parliament a guarantee for national liberty."

C. France — Close of the Hundred Years' War

294. Third Period of the Hundred Years' War. — In 1415, after a generation of peace with France, Henry V renewed the Hundred Years' War. He had no clear excuse; but he was fired by ambition, and he saw an opportunity in the disorder in France under an insane king (Charles VI). He was brilliantly successful. At Agincourt he won a victory which recalled the days of Crécy and Poitiers (§ 283). The mighty Duke of Burgundy went over to his side. A peace treaty made him regent during the lifetime of Charles VI with the right of succession after the mad king's death. The son of Charles, "the Dauphin," as the heir of the throne was called, was simply passed over in the agreement. Both kings died within a short time of each other. The Dauphin held a feeble sway over the country south of the Loire. An English regent ruled in the North of France in the name of young Henry VI.

But when the English were besieging Orleans, the last stronghold of the Dauphin in the North, the tide began to turn. *Joan of Arc*, afterward called the "Maid of Orleans," saved the city, conducted the Dauphin to Reims, the ancient coronation city of the French kings, and had him crowned with the usual ceremonies. This act established him in the eyes of the nation as the lawful king, and revived the patriotism of the French. To offset the moral effect of this coronation, the English brought young Henry VI to Paris and had him crowned there by an English Cardinal. But it was to no avail. Their hold on Northern France was waning. By 1453 they had lost every inch of French soil except Calais.

295. Joan of Arc, a simple country girl of seventeen years, presented herself in the camp of Charles VII and declared that she had been ordered by "heavenly voices" to relieve Orleans and conduct the king to Reims to be crowned. For six weeks she was subjected to a severe examination by learned divines and magistrates. Finally Charles VII admitted her to his presence. To try her once more he mingled in disguise among his courtiers, but she identified him at once and revealed to him a secret known only to himself. She was given charge of a small army. In full view of the besiegers she led a convoy of supplies into Orleans and then headed a number of sorties so vigorous, that within eight days the English withdrew. Through a country swarming with English and Burgundian forces and studded with hostile castles and fortresses she led Charles VII to Reims where he was crowned according to the traditional rite. Now that her mission was fulfilled, she insisted that she must return to her humble home and occupation. But she was prevailed upon to remain. The following year she fell into the hands of the Burgundians, who sold her to the English for 10,000 francs.

Angered and mortified at their defeat by a young peasant woman, the English determined to represent her to the world as an ally of the devil. With flagrant injustice an ecclesiastical court tried her for witchcraft. King Charles VII, to whom she had given a kingdom, made not even the slightest attempt to save her. She was condemned as a sorceress and heretic and burned at the stake in the city of Rouen. She died with the heroism of a martyr, protesting her innocence and invoking the name of Jesus until she expired. Many of the English spectators exclaimed:

JOAN OF ARC AT ORLEANS. — From the modern picture in the Pantheon at Paris.

" We are lost; we have murdered a Saint." Twenty years later, after the French had retaken Rouen, the process was reëxamined by order of the pope, and in the same city the decree of her rehabilitation was published with great solemnity and rejoicing. In 1909 she was beatified by Pope Pius X, and Benedict XV in 1919 concluded the process of her canonization.

Blessed Joan of Arc is one of the most remarkable personages of history. This peasant girl of little more than high-school age was an accomplished army leader and sat in the war councils of France. When only nineteen she testified to the supernatural character of her mission by a martyr's death and became the glory and pride of her nation and of the entire Christian world. Her beatification called forth expressions of enthusiasm not only among the patriots of Catholic France, but even among the descendants, Catholic and non-Catholic, of the English against whom she fought and who brought her to death.[1]

296. The French Kingship. — Charles VII, in spite of his detestable desertion of Joan of Arc, proved a great king. He restored order with a firm hand. Bands of " free lances " (mercenary soldiers) had been living on the country for generations and had earned the name " flayers " from their methods of torture to discover valuables. All such bands were now driven from France; and prosperity came back swiftly to the exhausted peasantry and the towns.

During the long war, and after it, while breaking up the " flayers," Charles had maintained a standing army. This force he was careful to keep when the troubles were over. He had also a train of artillery, which now made him able easily to batter the castle of any feudal rebel about his ears. During the war, too, the kings had raised taxes arbitrarily, of necessity. They continued to do so, now that the national necessity had passed. *The Estates General* (§ 195) *lost all chance to become a real power, and the monarchs grew absolute.*

The nobles of France made one last desperate attempt to check this royal despotism when **Louis XI** came to the throne,

[1] Special Report on Joan of Arc. — Wyndham's *The Maid of Orleans* discusses the pretended evidence against the supernatural character of the Maid's Mission. See book list.

but were quickly crushed. The young Louis won his victories mainly by cunning. Through his reign, he chose his chief advisers and ministers from men of low position, who could not gain by turning against him; and before his death feudalism had ceased to be a political danger even more completely than in England. *Louis XI* ranks alongside *Philip II, Augustus, St. Louis IX, Philip IV, the Fair, and Charles V, the Wise*, in numbering the kings who built up the French monarchy.

297. The Growth of France Completed. — France came out of the Hundred Years' War, after vast destruction of property, after terrible periods of suffering, with territory consolidated, with a new patriotism binding her people together, and with her kings more absolute than ever.

In §§ 192 and 193 we traced the growth of French territory to the opening of this war. The closing campaigns, after the victories of Joan, made the French king finally master of Aquitaine, the southwest quarter of France. The lower Rhone valley soon became entirely French (see map following page 204). Other acquisitions were to follow in the northwest (§ 316).

298. *The next two kings* were less capable. The reign of Charles VIII is remarkable for his attempt to conquer the Kingdom of Naples, where the family of Charles of Anjou had died out (§ 216). He failed utterly. After a series of vicissitudes Naples was reunited with Sicily, which had been under Aragonian rulers since 1282. Thus, in 1505, the whole *Kingdom of the Two Sicilies became a Spanish possession*, remaining, however, by right, a vassal state of the Holy See.

D. England and the Wars of the Roses, 1454–1485

299. The Wars of the Roses.[1] — In 1422 Henry VI became king, while less than a year old (§ 300). His long minority gave time for factions to grow among the nobles; and when Henry was old enough to assume the government, he proved too weak and gentle to restore order. The misrule of the great lords

[1] Stevenson's *Black Arrow* is an admirable story dealing with the age.

caused wide discontent, especially among the rising towns, whose industries called for settled government; and, encouraged by this discontent, the Duke of York came forward to claim the crown. Thus began the Wars of the Roses,[1] to last from 1454 to 1471.

York was descended from a son of Edward III older than the one through whom the Lancastrians derived their claim to

Warwick Castle. — Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick (the "King-maker"), was a prominent leader in the Wars of the Roses.

the throne;[2] and the war, the most ruthless and bloody in English history, was largely a selfish contest between great nobles. At the same time the chief significance of the struggle lay in the fact that the Lancastrian strength was in the feudal nobility of the North of England, while York was supported by the new middle class of the towns in the South.

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[1] The Yorkists assumed a white rose as their badge; the Lancastrians, a red rose. Students may be asked to find the scene in which Shakspere represents the choice of these symbols.

[2] Footnote to § 291.

300. Finally, York and the Cause of the Towns Conquered. — Edward IV was a selfish and rather careless despot. His son, Edward V, was a child and was never crowned. It is believed that the regent, his uncle, murdered him. The murderer became king as Richard III. He was an atrocious tyrant, and was soon overthrown by a popular rising. **Henry Tudor**, a distant connection of the Lancastrians, led this rising, and became king as *Henry VII.*

301. A "New Monarchy." — The losses in the long civil war had fallen mainly on the feudal classes. The old nobility was almost swept away in battle or by the headsman's ax. The new kings created new nobles (but kept them dependent on the crown), and *set to work skillfully to crush the scant remains of feudal independence.* For instance, a law of Henry VII wisely forbade nobles to maintain armed bands of retainers — whose presence was always a source of disorder and a threat to peace.

A few of the surviving *old* nobles at first disregarded this law. On a visit to one of these, — the great Earl of Oxford, — the king found an array of such armed retainers drawn up to salute him. Oxford had been one of Henry's earliest supporters for the throne; but now Henry frowned darkly: "I thank you for your good hospitality, Sir Earl; but I cannot have my laws broken in my sight." And Oxford was called before the king's court and ruined by a fine of £15,000, — some half million dollars in the values of to-day.

302. Results of the Wars of the Roses. — The first plain result of this crushing of feudalism was a *general* loss of liberty. Without great nobles for leaders, the towns and the country gentry were not yet strong enough to challenge the royal power. *So parliament lost authority.* During the wars, it had not been possible to hold true parliaments; and when war was over, the kings had been so enriched by confiscations of the property of opposing nobles that they did not need new taxes in ordinary times, and so could get along without calling parliaments.

Another new device helped the monarch to maintain this superiority. During the wars, a king had had to depend, not on parliamentary supplies, but on free-will gifts (*benevolences*) from men of wealth in his party. After the war, Edward IV continued to ask benevolences from leading men as he met them in traveling through the kingdom. Richard III had tried to secure popular favor by promising to surrender this evil custom; but he soon practiced it in a more extortionate form than ever. And now Henry VII reduced it to a system of regular supply. He asked, no longer merely in person, *but by letter*. His minister, Morton, sent out demands to rich men over all England. To some he said that their luxurious manner of living showed that they were easily able to supply their king; to others, that their economy of life proved that they must have saved wherewith to aid their sovereign's necessities. Thus every man of consequence in the realm found himself impaled, it was said, on one prong or the other of "Morton's Fork." [1]

303. Thus England entered the sixteenth century under the Tudor kings with a "New Monarchy." — Henry VII and his son Henry VIII were more absolute than any preceding English kings. Still they were shrewd enough to cloak their power under the old constitutional **forms**, and so did not challenge popular opposition. They called parliament rarely, — and only to use it as a tool. Parliament did not play as large a part again for more than a hundred years as it had in the century before the Wars of the Roses. But the occasional meetings, and the way in which the kings *seemed* to rule through it, *saved the* **forms** *of constitutional government*. This was a mighty service. At a later time, as we shall see, life was again breathed into those forms. Then it became plain

[1] Perhaps the most important point of this story is that it reminds us of the recent introduction of forks (two-pronged instruments) at the table. They had come into use in Italy a little earlier.

that, in crushing the feudal forces, the New Monarchy had paved the way for a parliamentary government more complete and valuable than men had dreamed of in earlier times.

For Further Reading. — Corresponding chapters from Gardiner's *Student's History*. Guggenberger II, §§ 54–106. On the Hundred Years' War the student will enjoy the contemporary story of Froissart.

Exercises like those suggested after § 218.

E. Ireland

304. English Ascendency. — In 1171 Henry II went to Ireland and took possession of it as "Lord of Ireland" (§ 171). His dominion consisted principally of the "English Pale," a district varying in extent, with Dublin as its center and capital. The English colonists lived under English law, which did not protect the Irish in any way. Had there been a really fair government, Ireland might have flourished under the strong hand of the Anglo-Norman kings. But though many of the English noblemen lived on good terms with the natives, the latter on the whole were treated with brutal indignity. John Lackland (§ 177), when a young man of nineteen, was sent over by his father Henry II, but he offended the earlier English colonists by his utter neglect. He came a second time as king, and accomplished some good for the settlers by regulating the courts of justice. The natives, *the mere Irish*, or *Irish enemies*, were no better off for his coming. Nor did a similar visit of Richard II (§ 296) produce any different results.

On one occasion the Irish sent "a remonstrance" to Pope John XXII in which they describe their sufferings. Any Englishman, they say, may prosecute an Irishman for an injury, but no Irishman can prosecute an Englishman. If an Englishman kills an Irishman, there is no penalty for the murderer. Moreover, "Irishmen are excluded from monastic institutions governed by Englishmen."

305. Edward Bruce. — When Robert Bruce, a scion of the Celtic family of the Bruces, rose successfully in Scotland against

the English (§ 180), a large Irish party invited his brother *Edward* to come to Ireland and assume the royal dignity. There was no lack of bravery in Edward Bruce's Scotch and Irish warriors. But in spite of all successes, dissensions among the chiefs brought about the complete failure of the projects. For three years this war wrought great confusion, devastation, and misery among the native population. But it also shook the English government of Ireland to its very foundations.

"Both the Irish and the English lords became more independent and consequently more tyrannical. So general, so needless, and well-nigh so insane had been the destruction of property, that vast numbers of people lost everything and sank into helpless poverty."

306. Irish Gains. — One of the greatest mistakes, if not the greatest, made by the English was the contempt in which they held the descendants of their own first settlers. All offices of the Pale were given to *English by Birth.* Those Englishmen who were born in Ireland were looked down upon as *Degenerate English.* These *English by Blood* mixed more and more with the natives, intermarried with them, and adopted not only their language but even their dress and customs. The "Statute of Kilkenny" threatened this practice with the severest penalties, but to no purpose. The fusion of the races went on in spite of the law. "As generations rolled by, the descendants of English immigrants became quite incorporated with the natives and indistinguishable from them in everything except their family names. This was especially the case with the great and powerful family of the *Fitzgeralds.*" Many of these Anglo-Irish are said to have become more Irish than the Irish themselves.

307. *The Black Rent.* — During the Hundred Years' War and the Wars of the Roses the hold of England upon Ireland grew weaker year by year. The colonists felt themselves so much at the mercy of the natives that they concluded agree-

ments with certain Irish clans to pay a fixed yearly sum for protection against further molestations. This was the *Black Rent.* It became very common and formed a regular source of revenue for many Irish chiefs.

The greatest Irish hero of this period was *Art MacMurrough Kavanagh,* a descendant of the archtraitor Dermot MacMurrough (§ 171). When eighteen years old he was chosen provincial king of Leinster, and immediately began his career as defender of the province. By a better knowledge of the country, and by bravery and superior generalship, he kept even the mighty host of Richard II at bay. For nearly half a century he preserved his independence just beside the Pale, in spite of every effort to bring him to submission. He died in 1417 — the most renowned Irish chief since Brian Boru (§ 102).[1]

[1] Much of the matter in this subdivision on Ireland has been taken from Patrick Weston Joyce's *Short History of Ireland from the Earliest Times to 1608*, a book "written soberly and moderately, avoiding exaggeration and bitterness, and showing fair play all round." (Pref.) The way this book is arranged makes it very useful for "special reports." The first part describes the civilization of ancient Ireland, the matter being treated by topics. The rest proceeds in historical order, and the facts are chiefly grouped around personalities or important events.

CHAPTER XVI

GERMANY AND HER DEPENDENCIES

308. The Interregnum. — Towards the end of the Hohenstaufen Period seven of the German princes had arrogated to themselves the exclusive right of choosing the King of the Romans. After the death of Conrad IV these seven "Electors" could not unite on one candidate. One faction elected Richard of Cornwall, brother of Henry III of England (§ 179). Richard visited his kingdom three times without exerting much influence. The other faction decided for Alphonso of Castile, who never saw Germany. The period 1254–1273, during which these two foreigners were supposed to rule, was marked by an almost complete absence of law and order. It was the heyday of club-law, when robber knights in ever-increasing number infested the country. To combat the evils of the period the city leagues grew into power (§ 259) and, as far as their influence reached, safeguarded the roads for traveling merchants.

309. Rudolph of Hapsburg (1273–1291) was a man of sterling character, and likely to bring some order out of the chaos. His moderate possessions, southern Alsace and some territory in the Alps, made him acceptable to the great princes who did not want too powerful a king. His election was hailed with unbounded joy by the people. Rudolph was sincerely religious. From the first he had the active support of the popes. He showed, however, little inclination to interfere in Italian affairs, but gave his undivided energy to the welfare of Germany itself. The robbers soon found out what kind of man the new king was. Along the Rhine alone he demolished a hundred and fifty of their castles, and on one memorable occasion hung twenty robber knights at a single execution.

Rudolph was forced to draw the sword also for the integrity of the realm. King Ottokar of Bohemia (§ 105) had brought

that country to a high degree of prosperity. But he sought to withdraw his possessions from the overlordship of the Empire. When summoned to pay homage (§ 118) to the new king for Bohemia and Moravia and to give up several other fiefs which he had occupied with very questionable right, he refused, even after Pope Gregory X had sent him an admonitory letter. War became inevitable. With greatly inferior numbers Rudolph defeated him. Ottokar fell in the battle. Rudolph bestowed Bohemia and Moravia upon Ottokar's infant son. But most of the other fiefs, among them the dukedom of *Austria* (§ 200), he granted, with the consent of the German princes, to his own son Albrecht. Thus the family of the Hapsburgs was established in the land on the Danube, *which was destined to grow into the Austrian Monarchy under Rudolph's descendants.*

Rudolph's rule proved an immense blessing for Germany. But his actual influence did not extend very far into the North. The short reigns of the contemporary popes — there were eight during his own reign — must be assigned as one of the reasons that prevented his imperial coronation.

310. For the next fifty years after Rudolph's death the crown passed from one family to the other. Rudolph's son *Albrecht*, Duke of Austria, however, was his father's second successor. *Henry VII, of the House of Luxemburg,* again went to Rome and was crowned emperor, but died soon after his coronation in Italy. He secured the succession of his son as king of Bohemia. *King Louis,* a Bavarian prince, for sixteen years at war with a rival, lived in unending opposition to the popes. He led an immoral life and broke the most solemn pledges. His reign is remarkable only because of the favor he bestowed upon the free cities.

Here is the place to sum up *the chief causes of the decline of Germany.* They are: The disastrous Italian policy of some of the emperors, the complete electiveness of the royal office, the large number of short reigns, and the continuous change

GERMANY AND ITALY
During the Interregnum
1254-1273
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200
NORTH SEA
DENMARK
JUTLAND
LAALAND
FALSTER
Königsberg
POMERELIA
Danzig
Teutonic
PRUSSIA
Territory
POMERANIA
GAMMINIA
Vistula R.
HOLSTEIN
Lübeck
Hamburg
SLAVINIA
Stettin
FRISIA
Bremen
Elbe R.
BRANDENBURG
Oldenburg
Zuyder Zee
Brandenburg
Oder R.
Posen
LUSATIA
Brunswick
Wittenberg
SAXONY
Meuse
Rhine R.
LOWER
HESSE
Meissen
Breslau
CRACOVIA
Aix-la-Chapelle
LORRAINE
Mainz
Prague
Bouillon
FRANCONIA
BOHEMIA
Luxemburg
Nuremberg
UPPER
LORRAINE
Brunn
Baden
BAVARIA
Augsburg
Munich
Vienna
Danube
SUABIA
Constance
Salzburg
Buda
Pest
Besançon
FRANCHE COMTÉ
LITTLE BURGUNDY
BRESSE
SALZBURG
TYROL
CARINTHIA
HUNGARY
TRENT
Aquileia
Görtz
Drave R.
Save R.
SAVOY
VIENNE
Milan
MARCH OF VERONA
Treviso
Trieste
VENETIAN republic
Parma
Modena
Ferrara
Pola
CROATIA
Genoa
Bologna
Ravenna
BOSNIA
Rhone R.
PROVENCE
Gulf of Genoa
Nice
Pisa
Florence
Pesaro
MARCH OF ANCONA
DALMATIA
Gulf of Lyons
TUSCANY
Ancona
Sienna
ADRIATIC SEA
SERVIA
ELBA
Aquila
CORSICA
Ajaccio
Civita Vecchia
Rome
STATE OF THE CHURCH
Troja
Naples
Tarento
Brindisi
Gulf of Tarento
TYRRHENIAN SEA
SARDINIA
Cagliari
KINGDOM OF SICILY
Palermo
Syracuse
2
6
10
14
18
52
48
44
40

of the ruling houses. Concerning the latter points compare §§ 187, 189, and 206, note. To these causes will be added, in the coming centuries, the aggressiveness of strong foreign powers including the Turks, and the internal disunion fostered enormously by the Reformation.

311. King Charles of Bohemia, grandson of Henry VII, succeeded as **Charles IV** (1347–1378). He had received his education in Paris, spoke Bohemian, German, French, and Latin, and was a great promoter of learning, literature, and art. In his residence, Prague, he established a university, the first in Germany, which was soon frequented by thousands of students. With the power of rich private dominions at his disposal he might have consolidated Germany or at least greatly retarded its disintegration. The cities and the lower nobility would have been his mighty allies. But his was too conservative a nature. On the whole, however, his rule was a happy one. He formally sanctioned the privileges of the seven Electors. His "Golden Bull" defined exactly how the "college of Electors" should make elections, and *fixed its members* as the *three Archbishops* of Mayence, Cologne, and Treves, the *King of Bohemia*, the *Duke of Saxony*, the *Margrave of Brandenburg* (§ 200), and the *Count Palatine of the Rhine*. Thus he forestalled arbitrariness in the royal elections at least to some degree.

But the apple of his eye was his own *kingdom of Bohemia*. "Under the long reign of this wise and learned king," says a Bohemian writer, "the Bohemians themselves became wise and learned. The surrounding nations now sent their sons to the new university. Bohemians obtained the most important positions in the empire. Several foreign bishoprics received Bohemian bishops. The Bohemians were the most learned, the dominant nation in Europe. It was thought a great honor to be a Bohemian. The neighboring princes bought or built houses in Prague to live among the Bohemians."

Another prominent ruler of the Luxemburg family was

Sigismund (1410–1437). In addition to his private possession of Bohemia he acquired by marriage the kingdom of Hungary. At the head of a crusading army of Hungarian, German, French, and other warriors he marched against the Turks, but was completely defeated in the battle of Nicopolis, 1396. His greatest merit was the prominent part he played in the happy termination of the Great Western Schism. This will be seen later. In the Empire he fulfilled the expectations entertained of him much less than Charles IV.

312. *From 1437 onward all the emperors were elected from the House of Hapsburg, the descendants of Rudolph.* The dignity did not, however, simply become hereditary. The election always remained a reality. More than once the imperial crown was on the point of slipping away and nearly every election resulted in a further limitation of the royal power. One more reign during the present period is important, that of *Maximilian I* (1493–1519). He found it impossible to go to Rome for his coronation, and the pope permitted him to style himself *Emperor Elect.* The only German ruler that was crowned emperor after him was his grandson Charles V. The others obtained the same privilege as Maximilian. The title of "Roman King" (§ 202) was now reserved to those few who were elected during an emperor's lifetime to succeed him after his death.

Maximilian I, called "the Last of the Knights," is one of the most romantic figures of the closing Middle Ages. But most of his noble efforts to bring Germany abreast of England and France were frustrated by the jealousies of the princes and partly by his own dreamy nature.

Until 1806 Germany was simply called "The Empire," and its ruler "The Emperor," because there was but one emperor in the Catholic world. Historians, however, occasionally use the appellations of "German Empire" and "German Emperor" with reference to those centuries. There was no Emperor of Austria then. But the ruler of the dominions of the House of Hapsburg was the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation.

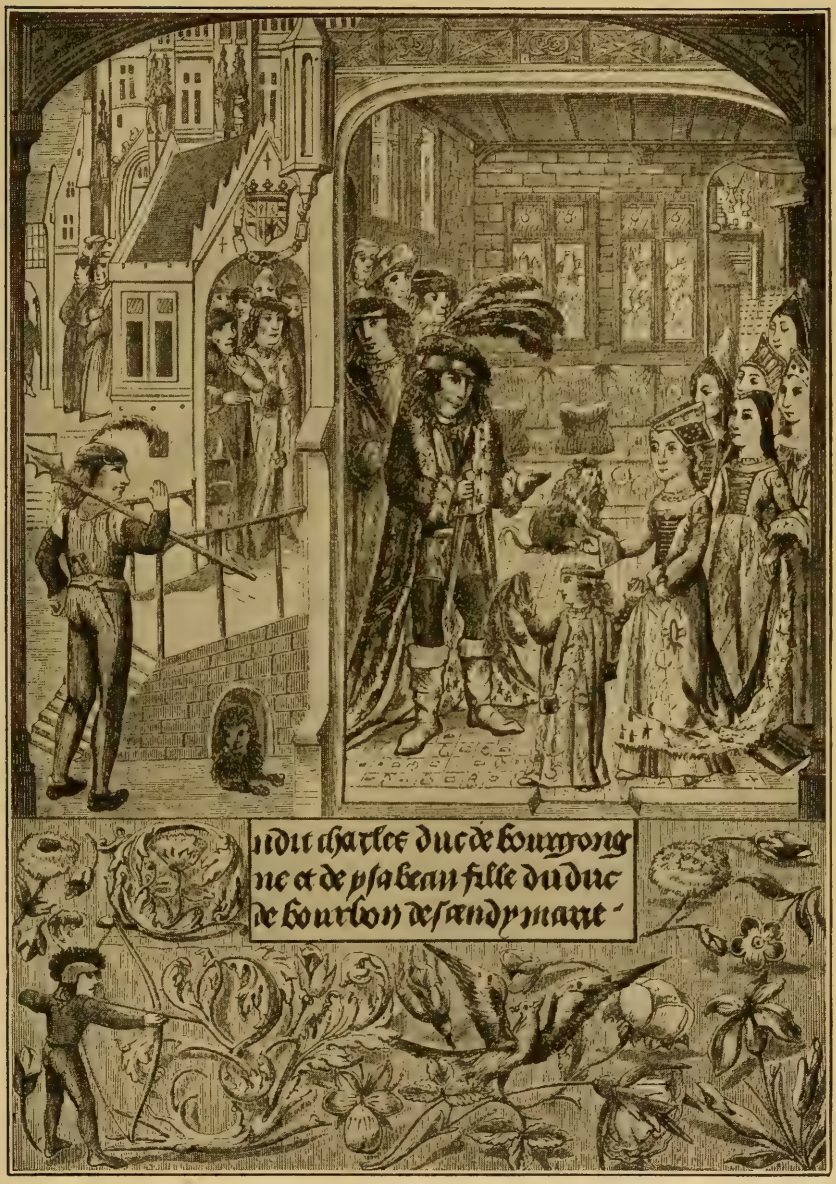


ILLUSTRATION FROM A FIFTEENTH CENTURY MANUSCRIPT, showing Maximilian of Austria, his queen, Mary of Burgundy, and their son Philip, who became the father of Emperor Charles V (§ 359).

313. Institutions of the Empire. — *The Diet.* During this period the German "national assembly" took form. It was called a Diet. In earlier times, it had been merely a gathering of nobles. In the fourteenth century representatives of the "Free and Imperial Cities" were admitted (§§ 260; 183, 195, 318). The Diet came to consist of three Houses, the Electors, the Princes, the City Representatives. To be binding a resolution had to be passed by at least two Houses, and by the emperor. But the execution of the laws thus adopted was always difficult and often impossible for the emperor.

The honest endeavors of Maximilian I had scored at least some success. Under him private feuds were completely forbidden, a *Supreme Tribunal* was instituted to settle disputes, and for the purpose of a better enforcement of the laws and of carrying out the verdicts of the Tribunal, Germany was divided into ten "*Circles.*" But it took some time before both institutions were in working order and able to do a limited amount of good.

We have to register two events in the history of the Hapsburg dominions, one a loss, small but significant, the other a great and important gain.

314. Switzerland. — In the mountains around Lake Lucerne there dwelt a sturdy race given to the pursuit of a simple agricultural and pastoral life. They had been under the sway of the Hapsburg dynasty long before King Rudolph. But about 1300 they claimed independence, and several non-Hapsburg kings granted them the right to rule themselves and be directly under the emperor. The Austrian dukes refused to recognize the lawfulness of this grant. Duke Leopold advanced with a strong army of knights to enforce what he thought was his right. The brilliant army was completely routed by the peasants. The battle of Morgarten, Nov. 15, 1315, is the birthday of Swiss liberty. In several other battles,[1] assisted always by the nature of their rugged country, the brave mountaineers maintained their freedom, and by and by increased the number of the little "cantons" from the original three "Forest

[1] The myth of *William Tell* belongs to the period of Morgarten. It is a good subject for special reports.

THE SWISS CONFEDERATION
1291-1500
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50 60
The Original Three "Forest Cantons," 1291
The Five Cantons added, 1353-1481
(These Eight are known as the "Old Cantons")
The Five Cantons added, 1481-1513, after Conflict with Burgundy
The Associated Districts
Common Districts
Danube
R.
Moselle
R. Rhine
Ensisheim
Freiburg
Mühlhausen
Schaffhausen 1501
Ravensburg
Lake Constance
Constance
Lindau
Bregenz
THURGAU
Dornach
Basel 1501
Winterthur
Kyburg
St. Gall
Toggenburg
Appenzell 1513
Zürich 1351
L. Zürich
Habsburg
Aargau
Frastenz
R. Rhine
TYROL
R. Doubs
Besancon
FRANCHE COMTÉ
BASEL
Solothurn 1481
Biel
R. Aar
Horgen
Wädhaus
Zug 1352
Einsiedeln
Sempach
Küssnacht
Morgarten
Näfels
Luzern 1332
Schwyz
Sargans
LEAGUE OF 10 JURISDICTIONS
Neuenburg
Gersau
L. Lucern
Glarus 1352
Prättigau
Murten
Bern 1353
Sarnen
UNTER-WALDEN
Altdorf
Granson
L. Neuchâtel
Fribourg 1481
Thun
Engelberg
Chur
Davos
Münster Thal
R. Rhine
Dissentis
URI
Ursern
GRISONS
St. Gothard Pass
R. Ticino
R. Inn
Splügen Pass
LEAGUE OF GOD'S HOUSE
Bormio
VAUD
Lausanne
Lake Geneva
Chillon
TO BERN
Sitten
R. Rhone
Visp
Chiavena
Locarno 1512
Bellinzona 1390
R. Adda
Sondrio
Valteline 1512
Geneva
VALAIS
Martigny
R. Adige
Lake Maggiore
Lake Lugano
Lake Como
SAVOY
MILAN
VENETIA

Cantons" to eight and more. A rather loose tie connected the Cantons, each of which ruled itself independently. In 1481, when the whole alliance was on the point of breaking up, it was saved by the sudden appearance of a famous hermit, Blessed Nicholas of Flue, who within one hour settled all the difficulties. Within the empire the Swiss Alliance ranked with the princes. It remained politically a German country until the Peace of Westphalia, 1648.

315. The Swiss victories, won by peasant infantry over the feudal array of armored knights, together with the battles of Legnano, Crécy, and Poitiers (§§ 208, 283, 284), mark the beginning of a new mode of warfare. The time of the mailed horseman was gone. The developments in the use of gunpowder completely sealed his fate.

The Swiss acquired fame as redoubtable warriors, whose assistance, either as allies or mercenaries, was sought by foreign powers. Many a throne was faithfully guarded by these free sons of the mountains. The last remnant of this custom is the little Swiss "army" in the Vatican.

316. Burgundy. — One of the kingdoms into which the realm of Charlemagne was finally divided was Burgundy, between the Rhone River and the Alps. This kingdom eventually became annexed to Germany (§ 206), but much of it was lost to France in the course of several centuries. To the northwest of the kingdom, there was the *Dukedom* of Burgundy, which had always been a French fief. There was also a *County* of Burgundy, which as part of the kingdom owed allegiance to Germany. Both the duchy and the county were finally united. The mighty Dukes of Burgundy found opportunities to incorporate other large provinces, in particular the *Netherlands*, that is, the greater part of present Holland and Belgium with some districts now belonging to France. (Map near § 192.) Most of these acquisitions were German fiefs. Duke Charles the Bold (1467–1477) fell in an attempt to conquer the Duchy of Lorraine, which he intended to serve as a link between the northern and the southern part of his dominions.

His daughter Mary, by marrying Maximilian of Austria, the later emperor, brought her vast inheritance to the House of Hapsburg. On the plea of escheat the king of France, Louis XI, occupied the Duchy of Burgundy and other French fiefs (§ 118) which greatly increased his domain. But Flanders escaped him. The acquisition of the German fiefs by Maximilian was, next to the winning of the Duchy of Austria (§ 309), the most momentous step in the development of the Hapsburg power.

317. *The Netherlands* was one of the most flourishing countries in Europe. The several duchies and counties comprised under this name contained very rich and populous cities, where merchants from Italy exchanged wares with those of the Hansa towns. It might even be said that they were rather workshops than trading rooms. "Nothing," says one historian, "reached their shores but received a more perfect finish; what was coarse and almost worthless became transmuted into something beautiful and good." "The whole world," exclaims a thirteenth century English chronicler, "is clothed in English wool manufactured in Flanders." Early in the crusading age the cities had won or bought their liberties. Each province had its Diet, where sat the nobles and the representatives of the cities. Mary, the daughter of Charles the Bold, had granted them *The Great Privilege* (1478) which further increased their influence upon the policies of their sovereign.

CHAPTER XVII

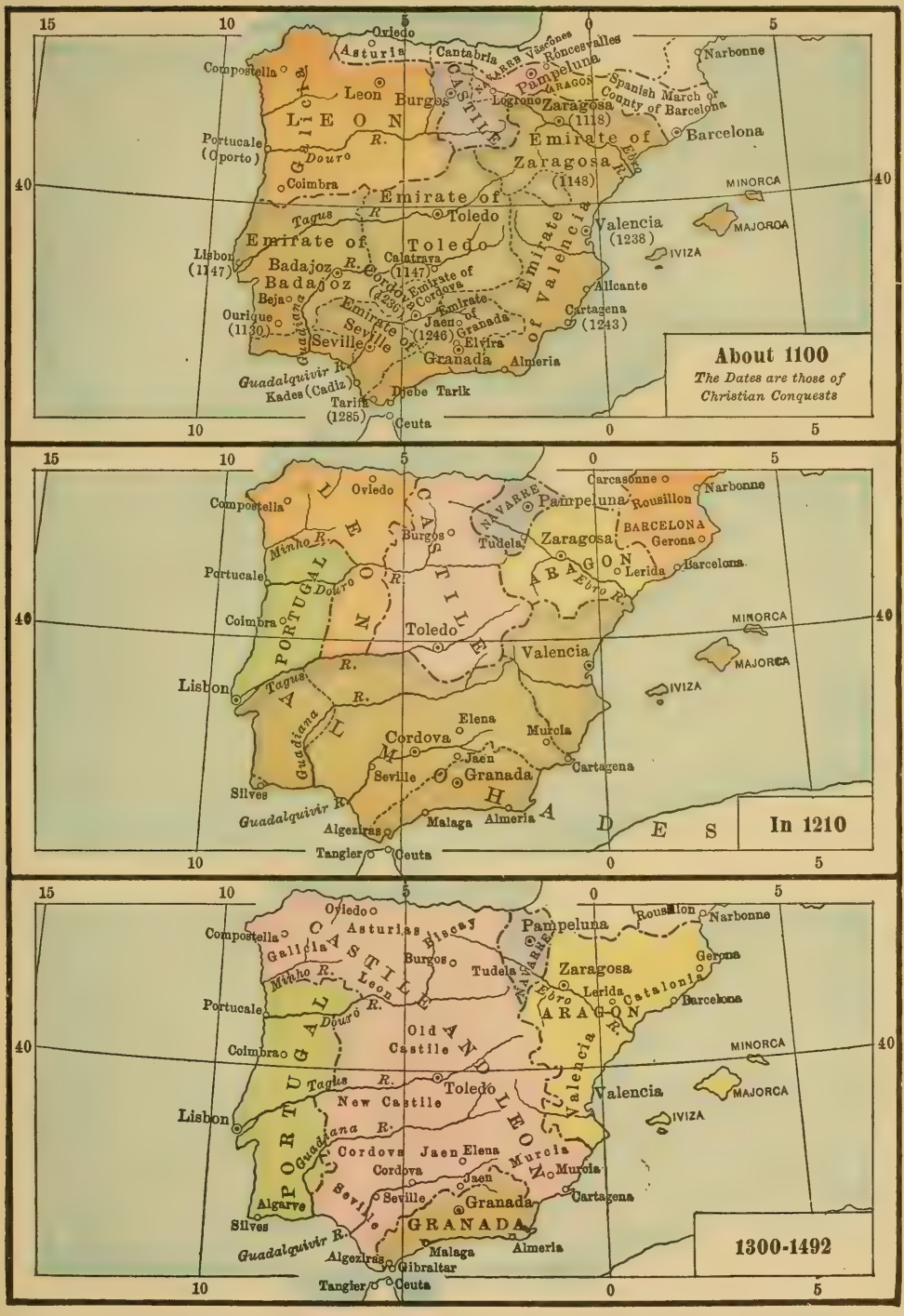
OTHER NATIONS IN THE SOUTH AND NORTH

A. The Struggle against Mohammedanism

318. The Spanish Peninsula. — The Mohammedan invasion of 711 (§ 73) separated the course of development in Spain from that of the rest of Europe. For centuries, "Africa began at the Pyrenees."

The wave of Moorish invasion, however, had left unconquered a few resolute Christian chiefs in the remote fastnesses of the northwestern mountains, and Charlemagne recovered part, also, of the northeast (§ 84). In these districts, *Asturia* and the *Spanish March*, several little Christian principalities began the long task of winning back their land, crag by crag and stream by stream. *This they accomplished in eight hundred years of war*, — a war at once patriotic and religious, Spaniard against African, and Christian against Infidel (§ 231). *The long struggle left the Spanish race proud, brave, warlike, intensely patriotic, and enthusiastically devoted to the Church.*

During the eight centuries of conflict, the Christian states spread gradually to the south and east, — waxing, fusing, splitting up into new states, uniting in kaleidoscopic combinations by marriage and war, — until, before 1400, they had formed the three countries, *Portugal*, *Aragon*, and *Castile*. Portugal remained independent. In consequence of the marriage between Isabella, heiress of Castile, with Ferdinand II, "the Catholic," heir of Aragon (1469), the other two countries were eventually united and in later times were known as the *Kingdom of Spain*. In 1492 this combined power captured



SPANISH KINGDOMS IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Granada, the last Moorish stronghold on the peninsula, and Spain at home achieved national union. In 1505 Ferdinand added the Kingdom of Naples to the Spanish domain (§ 298).

Portugal as well as Spain entered upon a period of discovery and colonization which made both mighty European states. But in European politics Spain by far outdid her smaller neighbor.

The feudal lords of the many Spanish kingdoms had been the most uncontrollable in Europe. In each petty state they elected their king, and took the oath to obey him in forms like this: " We, who are each of us as good as thou, and who together are far more powerful than thou, swear to obey thee if thou dost obey our laws, and if not, not."

The towns of Spain, too, had possessed charters of liberties of the most extreme character, and in various kingdoms they had sent representatives to the assembly of Estates, or the " Cortes," for more than a century before a like practice began in England. But Ferdinand of Aragon began to abridge all these privileges, and in the next two reigns *the process was carried so far that Spain became one of the most absolute monarchies in Europe.*

Map Exercise. — " Castile " was at first merely a line of " castles." It was a " mark state " : it shut off Aragon on one side and Leon on the other from any effective contact with the Moors, as Barcelona, Navarre, and Asturia had been shut off still earlier. After this was accomplished, Castile was the state most likely to grow to supremacy. Cf. Wessex in Britain, § 113.

319. The Balkan Peninsula. — While the Mohammedan Moors were losing Spain, the barbarous Turks (§ 249) were gaining southeastern Europe. They established themselves on the European side of the Hellespont for the first time in 1346. In 1361 they conquered Adrianople and made it their capital. A crusade under Sigismund, then king of Hungary, was a failure. The Serbians and Bulgarians yielded more and more. The Greek Empire shrank to a narrow fringe along the coast in the immediate neighborhood of Constantinople. At Varna (1444) King Wladislaw III of Hungary and Poland, and Cardinal Cesarini, the papal legate, found a noble death on the battle field.

A chief cause of these successes was the "Tribute of Children" imposed on the conquered Christians. At stated times a certain proportion of strong and promising boys had to be delivered up, to be educated in Mohammedanism and trained in the use of arms. For three centuries the *Janissaries*, "new soldiers," recruited in this worse than barbarous fashion, formed the most dreaded part of the Turkish army. The strength of the Christians themselves was turned against Christianity.

To enlist the assistance of the West, the Greek emperor had brought about a union of the Greek with the Latin Church. But this remedy proved unpopular on the Bosphorus. In **1453** *Sultan Mohammed II entered the city of Constantine the Great,* after the last emperor, likewise a Constantine, with a small army of Greeks and Latins, had defended it heroically for eight weeks.

Europe stood aghast. The popes, who had been the soul of the resistance to the Turks, again took up the defense of Christianity.

"But the apathy and selfishness of the rulers rendered united action impossible. While the pope sold the treasures of art collected by his predecessor and even his own table service for the benefit of the crusade, the king of Naples spent the crusading moneys in his pleasures or on private wars; Charles VII of France (§ 295) prohibited the export of the collected sums and sent the fleet equipped by the French Church against England and Naples; the German princes talked in their Diets and intrigued against each other and against emperor and pope; Christian of Denmark and Norway stole the crusading money from the sacristy of the cathedral of Roskilde." Guggenberger, II, § 115.

320. *Pope Calixtus III,* of the crusading Spanish nation, worked with untiring energy for a new crusade. *John Hunyady,* administrator of the Kingdom of Hungary, who had for many years been warring with the Turks, and *St. John Capistrano,* a Franciscan friar, whom the pope had sent out as preacher of the new enterprise, collected an army which was reënforced by thousands of Frenchmen, Germans, and Poles. Mo-

SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE
AT THE ENTRANCE OF
THE OTTOMANS
(about 1850)
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300
EXPLANATION
Greek
Turkish
Servian
Bulgarian
Hungarian
Venetian
Other Latin Powers
HUNGARY
Tartars
TRANSYLVANIA
MOLDAVIA
WALLACHIA
BOSNIA
CROATIA
DALMATIA
SERVIA
ALBANIA
BULGARIA
EMPIRE OF CONSTANTINOPLE
EMPIRE OF TREBIZOND
BLACK SEA
ANATOLIA
ARMENIA
CRIMEA
CIRCASSIA
LAZICA
GERMANY
CRETE
KINGDOM OF CYPRUS
KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN
DUCHY OF NAXOS
DUCHY OF ATHENS
PRINCIPALITY OF ACHAIA
Pressburg
Komorn
Raab
Buda
Pest
Stuhlweissenburg
Zagrab
Belgrade
Tergovist
Krajova
Widdin
Rustchuk
Silistria
Nicopolis
Tirnova
Varna
Triaditza
Sofia
Philippopolis
Kossova
Nissa
Ragusa
Trebinje
Scodra
Durazzo
Ochrida
Otranto
Kastoria
Thessalonica
Berea
Seres
Demotika
Adrianople
Constantinople
Chalcedon
Gallipolis
Brusa
Nicea
Nicomedeia
Heracleia
Sinope
Tripoli
Trebizond
Larissa
Arta
Lepanto
Thebes
Chalcis
Corinth
Athens
Patras
Argos
Napulia
Hydra
Maina
Zante
Cephalonia
Ithaca
Leucas
Corfu
Lemnos
Tenedos
Mitylene
Phocæa
Magnesia
Chios
Smyrna
Philadelphia
Samos
Rhodes
Tarsus
Seleucia
Antioch
Candia
Famagusta
Nicosia
Jassy
Kherson
Perekop
Danube R.
Dniester R.
Pruth R.
Theiss R.
Drave R.
Save R.
Morava R.
Strumo R.
Dardanelles
Hellespont

THE OTTOMAN DOMINIONS
at the time of
THEIR GREATEST EXTENT
about 1550
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200
Immediate Ottoman Territory
Tributary States
POLAND
RUSSIA
HUNGARY
TRANSYLVANIA
MOLDAVIA
WALLACHIA
SERVIA
BULGARIA
BOSNIA
CROATIA
DALMATIA
ROMELIA
ANATOLIA
BLACK SEA
CRIM
Sea of Azof
Caspian Sea
ITALY
Adriatic Sea
Vienna
Pressburg
Komorn
Buda
Stuhlweissenburg
Agram
Belgrade
Hermanstadt
Kaminiets
Jassy
Jedisan
Bessarabia
Tergovist
Widdin
Rustchuk
Nicopolis
Tirnova
Varna
Balaklava
Azof
Volga R.
Dniester R.
Danube R.
Save R.
Morava R.
Drina R.
Theiss R.
Serajevo
Ragusa
Kossova
MONTENEGRO
Cettinge
Cattaro
Spalato
Durazzo
Philippopolis
Adrianople
Constantinople
Sinope
Trebizond
Nicea
Brusa
Athos
LEMNOS
Larissa
Souli
Parga
Prevesa
LEUCADIA
CEPHALONIA
ZANTE
CORFU
Corinth
Athens
Smyrna
SAMOS
NAXOS
CERIGO
RHODES
Candia
CRETE
Nicosia
Famagusta
CYPRUS
L. Van
L. Urumiah
10
15
20
25
30
35
40
45

hammed II, with the same army that had reduced Constantinople, laid siege to *Belgrade* on the southern bank of the Danube, now the most important stronghold of Christianity. A fleet, the ships of which had been chained together, was to prevent the approaching Christian host from crossing the river. But with two hundred small boats the indomitable Hunyady effected the passage, and his crusaders joined the garrison of the beleaguered city. The Turks continued their fierce attacks. But St. John Capistrano's addresses kept up the courage of the Christians. Finally a desperate sortie drove the Mohammedans into a headlong flight with the complete loss of their camp and most of their artillery, Aug. 6, 1456.[1] The two heroes of this success, John Hunyady and the saintly Franciscan friar, died soon after.

During the same time the little country of Albania was saved for a generation by a handful of mountaineers under their invincible leader George Castriota, commonly called by his Turkish epithet, *Scanderbeg* (Prince Alexander).

Dissensions among the Turks under less warlike sultans gave some periods of respite to the Christian nations. The popes meanwhile endeavored to strengthen the resistive power of Hungary, until the greater part of that country, too, succumbed for a time to the power of the Crescent (§ 365). Unable to assimilate European civilization, the Turks remained like a hostile army encamped among subject Christian populations, and their baneful influence blighted and largely destroyed the ancient culture of many a conquered land.

B. The Countries of the Northeast

321. Poland, Prussia, Lithuania. — Poland had recovered from the helpless condition in which we found her at the begin-

[1] The Sultan's sumptuous tent was sent to the Holy Father, Pope Calixtus III. To commemorate this victory, the feast of the Transfiguration was instituted, to be celebrated in the whole Church on Aug. 6.

ning of the thirteenth century (§ 247). The Teutonic Knights now possessed a strong, well-ordered state between the Baltic Sea and Poland. But grave charges began to be raised against them. They insisted with rigor, nay cruelty, upon what they called their rights, and failed to respect Polish territory. In the course of the fourteenth century numerous frictions led to an ever-increasing enmity between the two neighbors. The intervention of vigorous popes, no doubt, would have prevented much of the dissension and removed many causes of enmity. But this was just the period of the unfortunate Western Schism with all its disastrous effects upon the general interests of Christianity.

East of both Poland and Prussia was the country of the Lithuanians, still practically pagan (§ 250). The Lithuanians and the Knights were regarded by Poland as her hereditary foes.

In 1386, however, *Princess Hedwig, the heiress of the Polish crown, consented to marry Jagello, the chief of the Lithuanians, on condition that he with his whole nation should become Christian.* This momentous fact united the two countries under one king, now called Wladislaw II, against the Teutonic Knights. The war, long evaded by the Knights, finally broke out. In 1410 the Knights were completely defeated in the battle of Tannenberg (west of Kulm). This battle marks the downfall of the Teutonic Order. Fifty years later (1466), after another disastrous war, the Grand-Master was forced to cede the land west of the Vistula to Poland, receiving the eastern portion as Polish fief. This is the first great "secularization" of ecclesiastical territory on record.

The Poles have reason, from the national standpoint, to celebrate the victory of Tannenberg. From the standpoint of the Christian we must regret the robbery thus committed by a Catholic power. To some extent, however, it can be excused. The Knights had by this time lost the purpose for

which their Order had been originally established. Several attempts to find another field where they might serve the cause of Christianity with the sword had failed — not without their own fault. During the period of prosperity religious discipline within the Order had suffered greatly. The Prussian cities, justly or unjustly, complained of oppression, and made common cause with the Poles. The kingdom of the united Poles and Lithuanians, on the other hand, had to fulfill in due time a providential mission; namely, the defense of the West of Europe against the Turks (§ 502).

322. Scandinavia had sent the Northmen into all parts of Europe (§ 96). After the formation of the three kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway a complete Christian hierarchy of bishops and archbishops kept in touch with Rome and the ecclesiastical life of the continent. But since the dissolution of the brief empire of Knut the Great (§ 151) Scandinavia took no prominent part in European politics. The story of these northern lands is romantic. The very names of the Norse kings make a portrait gallery, — Eric Broadax, Hakon the Old, Hakon the Good, Olaf the Thickset, Olaf the Saint. In 1397 the three kingdoms were united under Queen Margaret of Denmark by the *Union of Calmar*, which left to each realm its own laws and administration, but placed the management of all foreign affairs in the hands of the Danish ruler. In practice the two states of the northern peninsula became dependencies of Denmark. Both Norway and Sweden rebelled several times. In 1521 *Gustavus Wasa* succeeded, after a career of daring adventures, in freeing Sweden, which elected him hereditary king. (See § 370.) Norway remained united with Denmark until 1815.

CHAPTER XVIII

CHURCH AND PAPACY IN THE LATTER PART OF THE MIDDLE AGES

In this chapter we shall treat, first, of an institution which shows the intimate connection between Church and State, and the high esteem in which the purity of religious doctrine was held in those days. We shall then set forth the events which tended toward a weakening of the papal influence upon the further development of European politics.

A. The Inquisition

323. Origin and Nature. — Faith is a reality. Its teachings are not fairy stories but express *facts*. The Church is the God-appointed guardian of these revealed truths. She is not merely an advisory board, whose findings one may or may not follow. She is endowed with a supreme power to teach and to rule. She can and must demand submission to her decisions. But this power would be futile were it not combined with another power, namely, the right to enforce obedience and to punish those who refuse to abide by her decisions. The penalties, however, which she inflicts will vary according to the times. Circumstances may either recommend or forbid the employment of bodily chastisements besides merely spiritual weapons (§ 147).

Public opinion was far from siding with heretics. On the contrary, in several places notorious heretics were burned at the stake by the enraged populace as early as 1100.

Many of the heterodox systems, which made their appearance about this time, were of a very vicious character. They threatened not only religion but the very existence of the whole social and political order. The Albigenses and the later Wyclif-

ites have already been mentioned (§§ 193, 288, 289). Induced by the frequency and gravity of such errors, and more than half forced by the demands of the people, the Church created a special tribunal, **the Papal or Universal Inquisition.** The essential features of its method were fixed by a set of laws passed jointly by Pope Lucius III and Emperor Barbarossa in 1148. The minor details had been added by 1230. Such spiritual courts of justice were established in localities most infected by erroneous teachings. They did not supersede the power and duty of the bishops to watch over their flocks and suppress heresies in their own dioceses. The jurisdiction of the Inquisition extended only to baptized persons or such as claimed to have been baptized.

These courts received the accusations for heresy, summoned the accused persons, called in witnesses to testify for or against those that were indicted, and, if they saw fit, inflicted punishment. Their first endeavor was always to convert the guilty by instruction. If they succeeded, spiritual penalties were imposed, such as pilgrimages, fasting, almsdeeds. In severer cases they proceeded to incarceration. Persons that had once recanted and then relapsed or proved absolutely incorrigible were handed over to "the secular arm," [1] to be dealt with according to the laws of the state. The state, too, considered heresy as a crime, because it undermined the foundations of public welfare. The penalty fixed by the secular laws for heresy was death by fire. This was never inflicted by the ecclesiastical judge.

This Roman Inquisition was not extended to all the countries of Europe. It was active chiefly in Italy and Southern France. The prosecution of the Lollards in England, and, as far as it went, of the Hussites in Bohemia, was carried on by the episcopal authorities. In the trial of Hus at Constance, the Council itself was the court of justice.

[1] The spiritual and the secular power were compared with the two arms of the human body and spoken of as "the spiritual arm" and "the secular arm." See also § 204.

324. The Spanish Inquisition. — Spain struggled with religious problems of its own. Moors and Jews in large numbers submitted to the formalities of baptism in order to gain admission to the court and appointments to the highest secular and ecclesiastical offices and thus to destroy both religion and nationality. To cope with this very serious danger Ferdinand and Isabella petitioned the pope for a *separate Inquisition for Spain*. This Spanish Inquisition became an institution unique in character and organization. It consisted of several tribunals permanently established in certain cities with a Grand-Inquisitor at the head of all. The state exercised a very great influence upon the appointment of its members and even on the procedure itself, though it never was a mere state institution.[1]

325. Character of the Inquisition. — It is evident that something like the Inquisition is a necessity for the Church, unless she is to neglect utterly her duty of preserving unchanged the teachings of Christ. In fact every "religion" must, by some board or committee or assembly, or by some individual officer, or by the general vigilance of the members, watch over the integrity of the body of doctrines to which it has decided to adhere. And as soon as an actual case turns up, the transaction will of itself assume the nature of court functions. Some spiritual or temporal penalty, too, must be inflicted, if the whole proceeding is not to be an empty farce. It is therefore only natural that in the course of time the Church came to organize a regular "Tribunal of Faith."

The peculiar shape, however, which this tribunal took is due to the nature of the times. "The political and social development of the Christian world," says a non-Catholic historian, "led with almost automatic precision to the establishment of the Inquisition." It was the product of its age. Some items of its procedure at first sight indeed seem surprising to the modern mind. To appreciate them correctly, *we must gauge them not by the judicial practice of the present time, but by that of the Middle Ages.*

[1] In our days the duties of the Inquisition are taken care of by the Roman "Congregation" of the *Holy Office*, — Congregation being the name of the several committees of cardinals each of which looks after a certain kind of business. The Holy Office depends entirely upon the voluntary obedience and religious conscientiousness of those whose doctrine it may have to investigate.

(1) *The accused never found* out the names of those who either had reported him or had given evidence against him. But those who prescribed this method knew it would appear incongruous. They considered it necessary to take away all risk for such as might feel bound to give information against some important man who could and would, even if condemned, wreak vengeance upon them.

(2) *The use of the rack* in order to extort confessions was taken from the Roman law. The people of the time did not look upon it as shocking. It was applied in the secular courts without the stringent regulations with which the Inquisition limited its use.

(3) *The prisons of the Inquisition* were as a rule much better and perhaps in no case as bad as were those dens in which criminals were detained by secular potentates.

(4) As to the *death penalty*, see above, § 323. The death by fire certainly cannot compare in cruelty with the butchery which in England was the regular punishment for high-treason, and, later on, for the profession of the Catholic Faith. The number of executions has been enormously exaggerated, though according to our views it was big enough. But justice was sterner in those days, and the death penalty was much more readily inflicted. A prominent citizen of Constance has left us a chronicle of the eventful four years of the Council (§ 333) which was assembled in that little town. He relates with pride that the city magistrates succeeded in preserving perfect order, although the number of executions amounted to ONLY twenty-four.[1]

326. Abuses. — While thus the Inquisition and its methods stand justified, it was like all human institutions liable to error and abuse in its actual workings. Lower officials and even judges made themselves the tools of unscrupulous rulers and of their still more unscrupulous

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[1] The Protestants at any rate ought not to upbraid the Inquisition for the multitude of its victims. If the latter had been as numerous as they are represented to be, it would still be child's play in comparison with the victims of Protestant persecutions. We need only mention the wholesale massacres in Ireland which reduced that Catholic country almost to a wilderness. (See §§ 391, 392, also § 369.) In Spain, where they were most frequent, all the executions during three and a half centuries amount to about four thousand (not 20,000 as is claimed). By this vigorous measure Spain obtained a period of interior peace, the preservation of its religious unity, and its existence as a nation. Instead of an Inquisition, France had its Huguenot Wars with the devastation of a considerable part of its territory; and Germany had its Thirty Years' War, which reduced its population to less than one half.

ministers. There are well-attested cases of glaring injustice, above all in Spain, where the influence of the government and of government officials was very great. Once Pope Leo X excommunicated the whole tribunal of Toledo (Spain) for cruelty, and ordered the witnesses to be tried for perjury. Occasionally the government intercepted appeals to Rome. The clause which assigned the entire property of the guilty to the public treasury repeatedly occasioned the condemnation of innocent persons.

Notwithstanding all its shortcomings the Inquisition has done immeasurable good to the Church and mankind. An anti-Catholic historian cannot help admitting that, had the Albigensian heresy "become dominant, or even had it been allowed to exist on equal terms, its influence could not have failed to prove disastrous." And this is only one point.

Taken as a whole the Inquisition does not stand for judicial arbitrariness, but for the reform of crying evils in the contemporaneous methods of administering justice. Many of the details embodied in the procedure of that much maligned tribunal passed into the practice of the secular courts and have been retained ever since. Says a French historian, "The word Inquisition is the scarecrow of unthinking people."

B. The Period of Avignon and the Western Schism

327. Pope Boniface VIII (1294–1303) devoted a mind cultivated by profound learning and matured experience to the noble aim of pacifying the Christian nations, enforcing the laws of the Church, and bringing about a new crusade. The empire had lost most of its power and influence. But the monarchy of France had become strengthened (§ 297). Here ruled Philip IV, the Fair (1285–1314), who aimed at nothing less than to restore the Roman Empire in its old boundaries and make the pope his court chaplain. He waged his private wars with the money which, so far, by a special papal permission, he had levied on the clergy for the purpose of a crusade. His demands, however, did not stop here but grew more and more exorbitant. The clergy implored the pope for protection against the extortions of royal officers. Then appeared the Bull "Clericis Laicos," already mentioned in connection with England. We have seen what effect it had in that country (§ 185). When

Philip continued his aggressions, Pope Boniface VIII addressed to him a letter in which he reproved him in a fatherly way for the evil he was doing. The king had the original document destroyed and another one written in very insulting language, which with an equally insulting answer he spread broadcast among his people. An assembly of pliable bishops and servile barons now put forth a number of the most absurd charges against the pope, calling him a heretic, a sorcerer, and an unbeliever. They then *appealed from the pope to a general council and to a future legitimate pope.* Philip IV secretly sent one of his creatures, Nogaret, a low and violent character, to Anagni in Italy where the pope resided. Having gathered an army of ruffians he forced his way into the papal palace. Clad in the full insignia of his office, Boniface awaited him. The aged but dauntless pontiff was imprisoned and deprived of food and drink for several days. The citizens of Anagni rescued him, but he died a month later.

An outcry of indignation arose throughout the whole Christian world. This outrage against the Vicar of Christ showed clearly the criminal aspirations and violent character of a mighty prince. It defeated its purpose by rousing universal sympathy for the papacy. Unfortunately, however, Philip IV did not find a Gregory VII or an Innocent III to oppose him. Thus this sad event was in fact the significant beginning of a new period for the papacy.[1]

328. The Popes in Avignon. — After the one year's pontificate of Benedict XI, the French Archbishop of Bordeaux was chosen pontiff as Clement V. Since the city of Rome just then was again the scene of bloody party strife, Clement V preferred to avoid Italy altogether. He had himself crowned in Lyons, and in 1309 *transferred his residence to Avignon,*[2] a quiet little town on the Rhone. He was the obedient servant of Philip IV. All the papal utterances which had been published against

[1] Guggenberger, I, §§ 620–630. [2] *Ibid.*, II, §§ 1–6, 15, 18.

the king were at once repealed. Determined opposition to the extortion of money from the clergy came to an end. The Order of the Knights Templar was suppressed (§ 246). The one thing Philip IV could never obtain from this weak pontiff was the condemnation of Boniface VIII as a heretic.

In all, four popes resided at Avignon, the most prominent of whom was undoubtedly *John XXII*. He strove untiringly for the true welfare of the Church. His most cherished idea, however, the inauguration of a new crusade, was never realized. Under him as well as under his successors the missionary efforts for the conversion of Africa and Asia were zealously continued. One of the four, Blessed Urban V, returned to Rome for a short while, but finally died in Avignon.

The Church undoubtedly suffered much through the residence of the popes in Avignon. Though the city was not strictly French territory but belonged to the popes as a kind of outlying province of the Papal States, the one-sided influence of French politics was at times strongly noticeable. It was, moreover, principally in consequence of the absence of the pontiffs that the Papal States at one time almost slipped from their control, and the loss of this source of revenue made it necessary to insist still more extensively upon the payment of papal taxes by ecclesiastics the world over. All this caused uneasiness and loud complaints, and *seriously undermined the general confidence in the fairness and integrity of the Holy See.* There is some reason to speak of the Avignon period as " the Babylonian Exile of the Papacy."

In 1377, Gregory XI at last made up his mind to return to the Eternal City, and he in fact died there the year following, — just before he could carry out his resolution to go back to Avignon. " He found the ancient monuments destroyed, most of the 414 churches in ruins, commerce paralyzed, and the number of inhabitants reduced to 30,000."

329. The Great Western Schism. — (1) *Origin.* After the death of Gregory XI, the cardinals assembled for the con-

clave in Rome. The populace gathered in front of the building and wildly clamored for a Roman or, at least, an Italian pope. The cardinals to avoid the charge of intimidation chose an Italian archbishop who assumed the name of Urban VI. To forestall all objections they met again the following day and, in due form, cast their votes for him a second time.

All might have been well had Urban VI excelled as much in prudence as in sanctity and learning. At once, with much harshness, he addressed himself to the task of a much needed reform of the papal court. The cardinals, accustomed to a less restrained life in Avignon, were loath to submit to his severe regulations. Within a few months there was general dissatisfaction. His refusal to go to Avignon occasioned an open rebellion upon the part of the eleven French cardinals. They withdrew to another city, claimed that, since in electing Urban VI they had not been free, he was no legitimate pontiff, and proceeded to "the election of another pope." The king of France eagerly espoused the cause of the antipope, Clement VII, who at once took up his residence in Avignon. French influence gained him additional supporters among the rulers of the Christian world.[1]

There were now two men each of whom claimed to be the successor of Peter, each elected by cardinals. Christianity was divided into two "obediences." The schism was perpetuated by each pope's appointing cardinals who after his death elected a successor.

330. (2) *Effects of the Schism.* The people did not doubt that one only of the two claimants could be the right pope. But it was difficult, if not impossible, for most to decide. Had not the majority of the cardinals rejected Urban VI? Was it not for the cardinals, the august senate of the Church, to know and state whether Urban's election had taken place in the lawful manner? Hence there were well-meaning people on both

[1] Guggenberger, II, §§ 21–26.

sides. In our own days, however, when all the facts can be better surveyed, the Roman pope is clearly seen to have been the real head of the Church.

This deplorable condition was productive of unspeakable confusion. There were often two claimants to the same bishopric or abbey or parish, and each had sentence of excommunication pronounced upon him by the pope to whom the other adhered. In many churches divine services were neglected. The religious devotion of the people grew lukewarm. The charges of rapacity against the papacy grew in volume and violence, as each of the two "popes" was obliged to increase the already heavy demands for support (§ 328). The rulers occasionally changed sides, accordingly, as one pontiff promised them greater advantages than the other. The schism made the popes more dependent upon the secular power than any previous event had done. Thus the prestige of the Holy See, which had been suffering during the Avignon period, fell still more in consequence of the schism.

To make sure that the influence of a "hostile" pope should not find its way into their realms, some rulers, in particular those of England, forbade the introduction of any papal document without their own approval. This practice they kept up even after the schism was ended. Certain potentates, Catholic and non-Catholic, have at times extended this demand even to the pastoral letters of the bishops. Of course no such right exists. Neither did Christ oblige His Apostles to submit their official utterances to the secular magistrates before publishing them, nor has the ecclesiastical authority ever granted any such privilege.

331. Many plans were tried to put an end to this sad state of affairs in the Church. When one decade after another elapsed without any sign of reconciliation between the two rival "popes," prominent men, foremost of all the University of Paris, advanced the idea, unknown to former ages, that a

General Council is above the pope. A Council, it was thought, could and ought to take this matter in hand. Again an attempt made by the cardinals of both sides to bring the two claimants together had failed. Now six cardinals of the Avignon pope, Benedict XIII, joined seven cardinals of Gregory XII, the Roman pontiff, and these thirteen constituted themselves a provisional government for the Church. In this arrogated capacity they summoned the bishops of the world to a *General Council to meet at Pisa* in Italy, 1409. This Council, "assembled by the grace of the Holy Ghost," declared both claimants deposed and elected a new one. Of course neither of the former two submitted to the verdict of this self-appointed tribunal. And so the world, as it is flippantly said, now had three popes instead of two.

Inasmuch as this assembly assumed authority over the Church it was illegitimate and revolutionary from the start, because most certainly it was neither summoned, nor presided over, nor sanctioned by the real pope. Whichsoever of the two be deemed the true successor of St. Peter, — and one of them surely was, — the "Council" was in direct opposition to him. (See Guggenberger, II, §§ 34–37.)

332. Heresies contributed much to aggravate the deplorable state of Christianity. The most dangerous were the innovations of Wyclif (§ 320). The English queen at that time was a Bohemian princess. The intercommunication between the two countries, brought on by this connection, caused Wyclif's ideas to be spread in Bohemia. They were eagerly caught up by one of the professors in the university of the capital, *Jerome of Prague*, and through him they passed to *John Hus*. Both had been working seriously for a much needed reform of the clergy and people but like Wyclif they overshot the mark. Hus exaggerated Wyclif's doctrine by teaching, as some of the Lollards did, that secular magistrates as well as spiritual lose all their power by mortal sins. Many of the Bohemian nobility were delighted to hear that the Church must be deprived of all

her possessions. Christ, these heretics taught, is not present in the Blessed Sacrament under each separate species; hence communion must be received by the faithful under both species.

The University had forty-five theses extracted from Wyclif's books. These theses were solemnly condemned through the influence of the German and Polish professors. Thereupon John Hus, already an extremely popular preacher, posed as the champion of Bohemian nationality. By royal mandate the non-Bohemian professors and students were forcibly deprived of the rights which they had enjoyed since the establishment of the institution; 20,000 students, it is said, directly left the university. Hus became the hero of a strong and influential party. By temporizing for quite a while and using ambiguous terms he evaded removal and punishment. In the meantime, his errors began to take root in the neighboring countries.[1]

333. The End of the Schism: The Council of Constance.[2]— In Germany Sigismund, brother of the King of Bohemia and son of Charles IV (§ 311), was recognized as Roman King. Fully realizing the greatness of his vocation, he resolved to spare no efforts and expense to end the pernicious schism. He adhered, like many other excellent men, to the Pisan pope, John XXIII.

Sigismund prevailed upon John XXIII, whose "obedience," as a matter of fact, was the largest, to summon a Council to Constance, a German city on the Rhine. The eyes of Europe now hopefully turned to that little town beyond the Alps where assembled one of the most brilliant gatherings the Middle Ages had seen. These expectations were not disappointed.

John XXIII soon found that grave charges against him were circulated among the members of the Council. He hoped to break up the assembly by secretly leaving the city. But King Sigismund had him brought back a prisoner, and by his firmness prevented the dissolution of the Synod. John XXIII was now

[1] Guggenberger, II, §§ 27, 28. [2] *Ibid.*, §§ 38–46.

expected to abdicate. This he did, and of his own accord added the protestation that it was his free resolution to renounce the papal dignity. To prevent any untoward influence upon him Sigismund ordered him to be kept in confinement. While the Council continued its sessions the Roman King set out on a journey to the kings of France, England, and Spain, to secure them for the cause of unity. In this matter his endeavors were successful, though he failed to reëstablish peace between France and England (§ 294).[1]

Gregory XII, the Roman pope, who, as we now know, was the real Vicar of Christ, sent an ambassador to Constance, and through him first convoked the Council on his part and ordered his own followers, bishops as well as cardinals, to join it. He then declared through the same legate that for the good of the Church he resigned his office as pope. The third claimant, *Benedict XIII*, whose " obedience " had shrunk to his ancestral castle, might be safely ignored. St. Vincent Ferrer, who had been his confessor, left him when the " pope " refused to abdicate for the welfare of Christianity.

The papal throne now being evidently vacant a new pope was elected by unanimous vote, and he assumed the name of Martin V. When the Christian world learned that there was once more a universally recognized pope and that *the unity of Christianity was restored,* " men could scarcely speak for joy."

With reference to the Great Western Schism a bitterly anti-Catholic historian, Gregorovius, says: " Every temporal power would have perished therein. But so wonderful was the organization of the spiritual empire, and so indestructible the very idea of the papacy, that this widest of schisms only demonstrated its indivisibility."

In 1431 Pope Eugene IV called another Council at *Basel.* It soon became openly schismatic, but finally consisted almost

[1] One of the greatest secular events which took place during the Council of Constance was the solemn investiture of *Frederick of Hohenzollern* with the Electorate (" Mark ") of Brandenburg (§§ 200, 312). He was the ancestor of the dynasty of that name.

entirely of priests and laymen. It went, however, to the farce of setting up an antipope. In 1447 Emperor Frederick III ordered the " Fathers " to disperse. Meanwhile the legitimate Council of *Florence*, 1437–1439, effected the temporary reunion with the Greek Church mentioned in § 319.

334. The Execution of John Hus. — Before the election of *Martin V* the Council had proceeded against John Hus, the Bohemian heretic. Sigismund wished him to appear, but Hus was in no way forced to do so. On his arrival he was treated with the utmost forbearance. The excommunication into which he had fallen was temporarily lifted. He was forbidden only to say Mass and to preach, before the Council had passed upon his doctrine. But accustomed to disregard his superiors, Hus said Mass privately, admitted numerous visitors, and inveighed in sermons against pope and cardinals and the whole Church. Under the very eyes of the Council he sanctioned by letter the practice of receiving communion under both species because, as he said, it was enjoined by the Bible. Hus considered the Council as something like a debating society, where all are of equal authority, whereas a Council, as successor to the College of the Apostles, must demand submission. After much patience, and literally exhausting all means of kindness and persuasion, the Council declared Hus an incorrigible heretic and handed him over to the secular authority. According to the law of the time he was burned at the stake. His ashes were thrown into the Rhine.[1] Jerome of Prague suffered the same fate.

[1] King Sigismund had given Hus a "safe conduct." It is often alleged that his execution was a violation of this guarantee of safety. But this was meant merely as a protection against unlawful aggressions, not against the just verdict of his judges. It was not a grant of impunity for whatever he might have committed or was going to commit. On his way to Constance Hus himself boasted in public manifestoes that he would testify for his faith unto death. That the Council declared a promise given to a heretic unbinding is a lie pure and simple.

" With more moderation and less pride John Hus, instead of suffering the death of fire, could have become an ornament in the august assembly. By his learning and eloquence he could have contributed a large share to the solution of the greatest problems of Europe." John Hus, a master of the Bohemian language, poisoned a large part of the Bohemian nation against that Church to which it owed its civilization and splendor.

335. The Hussite Wars. — The execution of Hus was represented in Bohemia as an attack at once upon the new religion and upon Bohemian nationality. Long years of fanatical party strife began, which devastated the whole of Bohemia and the adjoining German provinces. Five crusades were preached against the Hussites, but their hordes proved unconquerable. At last an agreement with the Council of Basel allowed them to receive communion under both species provided they believed in the presence of Jesus Christ under each species. But Bohemia's agriculture and commerce was ruined, and her intellectual ascendency was practically gone (§ 311).[1]

Exercises. — (1) Dates: 1254–1273 (Interregnum in Germany), 1281, 1315, 1338–1453, 1346, 1410, 1414–1418, 1429, 1453 (Fall of Constantinople), 1454–1485.

(2) List of terms for brief explanation: Black Prince, Edward III, Black Rent, Netherlands, Morgarten, etc., etc.

Other exercises as suggested after § 218.

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[1] On the condemnation of Hus and the Hussite Wars see Guggenberger, II, §§ 44, 45, 47–49.

CHAPTER XIX

THE PERIOD OF THE RENAISSANCE

This period concludes the era of religious unity. Its name is taken from one of its most remarkable features, the "Renaissance," revival, of ancient classic literature. It partly overlaps the preceding and the following periods and even begins and closes at different times in the different countries. Nor does it show the same characteristics in all lands. Its religious aspect we must reserve for the next *Part* of this textbook.

A. The Renaissance Proper; the Revival of Classical Literature

336. Origin. — About the middle of the fourteenth century there arose in Italy, where the recollection of the old political and literary glory had never died out, a new fervor in the appreciation of the ancient classic works of the Roman authors. During the Middle Ages the Latin language had undergone some changes, and on the whole it disregarded many of the rules which had been carefully observed by the writers of the classic period of Roman literature. The Scholastics, moreover, to express the thoughts of theology and Christianized philosophy, had created a system of new terms which are not to be found in the ancient classics. They laid stress almost exclusively upon the correctness of *thought* and not so much upon the dress in which it was to appear. Now, however, the old Roman masters were studied again with enthusiasm, and more attention was paid to elegance of language. Hand in hand with this went a greater interest in the beauties of nature, not new indeed but greatly increased in comparison with the attitude of the scholastic mind.

Francis Petrarch was the father and chief promoter of this new movement. His host of followers grew larger from year to year. Classic Latin became the everyday language of these enthusiasts. They employed it in public productions and private letters. With eagerness they searched for manuscripts of the classics. They found them chiefly in the ancient monasteries, where formerly they had been the object of more devoted care and study.

PETRARCH

Humanism — this is the name frequently given to the new study — spread fast through the various countries of Christendom and took hold of all classes of people who could afford to give time to such pursuits. The laity now vied with the clergy in literary and scientific endeavor. The possession of libraries was no longer confined to ecclesiastics; no palace was thought to be complete unless it could boast of a goodly collection of books. Moreover, "In the general interest in classical learning . . . *woman* took a significant part. From the beginning of the revival we find the record of her literary tastes and accomplishments side by side with those of the leading men of her time."[1]

[1] On the Renaissance see Guggenberger, II, §§ 163–169.

337. Attitude toward Religion. — In its best representatives Humanism was far from being opposed to the Church. Petrarch himself says: "Let us admire their [the ancient writers'] intellectual gifts, but in such wise as to reverence the Creator of these gifts. Let us have compassion on the errors of these men while we congratulate ourselves and acknowledge that out of mercy, without any merit of our own, we have been favored above our forefathers by Him who has hidden his secrets from the wise and graciously manifested them to little ones. . . . The real wisdom of God is Christ."

Not all the humanists harbored the same sentiments. There were not lacking those who would gladly throw everything overboard that was not in full accord with the views of the pagans whose writings they admired. They imitated not only the elegance of diction to be found in the works of these pagan writers, but also the immorality of their lives. Humanists of this stamp we call *Radicals*, those who remained faithful Christians, *Conservatives*. The Radicals, as well as others who did not go quite so far, often made the Church and all her ministers the butt of their ridicule.

Scholasticism was a pet subject of abuse for radically inclined humanists. It was indeed no longer what it had been under St. Thomas Aquinas and his disciples. To acquire notoriety many professors — not all or by any means most of them — devoted much time to the discussion of out-of-the-way topics and neglected the more necessary subjects. But this did not touch the doctrine itself held by the schools. Then, too, their language was capable of improvement as far as grammatical construction was concerned. But pedantic conceit and ignorance alone could insist upon the abandonment of the well-chosen and definite philosophical and theological terminology which the Schoolmen had worked out.

The Church as such never antagonized humanism. True, a few popes did not positively favor it, because, as was thought, other interests of the Church demanded attention more urgently. Most of the popes, however, were its most liberal

promoters. In Rome brilliant minds were sure of finding every kind of encouragement. In fact without the active support and generous assistance of ecclesiastical dignitaries humanism could never have obtained so general a hold upon the nations of Western Christendom.

338. Humanism in Various Countries. — In *Italy* humanists of both classes were strongly represented. Some of the Radicals, in addition to leading the loosest kind of life, went so far as even to plan the death of such persons as seemed opposed to their revolutionary projects. Boccaccio, one of the originators of the humanistic movement, gave literature some of the vilest productions. He died, however, in union with the Church, and in his last hours besought his friends to prevent as much as possible the spread and reading of his works.

Two monks, William Snelling and William Hadley, who had made their studies in Italy, introduced Humanism into *England*. It found a liberal protector in Cardinal Wolsey. Thomas More, sometime the king's chancellor, a devout Catholic, encouraged famous humanists and was no mean scholar himself. Bishop Fisher of Rochester, Dean Colet, and others, were not only ardent humanists but thorough and practical churchmen.

The first *German* humanists harmoniously combined great linguistic abilities with humble submission to the doctrines and laws of their religion. Some of their successors, however, indulged in violent attacks, chiefly by means of satire, upon scholasticism, the religious Orders, the priesthood and papacy, and upon sacred ceremonies and pious customs.

339. Two facts contributed greatly to the further development and rapid spread of the humanistic tendencies. The first was the *influx of Greek scholars* from the East. They came to participate in the Council of Constance and still more in that of Florence (1437), in which the Byzantine Church was again united — though only for a few years — with that of Rome (§ 319). The constant attacks of the Turks caused many to flee to the West in search of new homes. This was still more the case in the first years after the conquest of Constantinople (1453). These visitors and refugees acquainted the Italian

humanists, and through them those of other countries, with the Greek language and the works of the Greek poets, orators, and historians, all of which had been very little known so far. The soil was well prepared for the new seed. The masterpieces of Hellas were added to the humanistic program, and enthusiastically studied. It was a new impetus for the progress of the classical revival. Greek, however, never became quite so generally known as Latin.

The other fact, which was of far greater importance still, was the *invention of printing*, which reduced the cost of books enormously and thus facilitated the efforts of teachers and students (§ 341).

340. One great result of the humanistic movement was a gradual change in the curriculum of the " Faculty of Arts " in the universities (§ 262). This faculty now began to aim primarily at training the young student to a proficiency in classical Latin and Greek and to a certain degree of familiarity with the literature of both these languages. For several centuries this proficiency in the classics remained the indispensable condition for the study of all the higher branches, and is still so, the world over, for the study of theology.

Humanism was, however, not narrowed down to Latin and Greek. It included Hebrew and other idioms useful for the understanding of the Bible. In fact it created a new branch of study, philology, which strives for a deeper insight into the nature of languages.

For Further Reading. — Pastor's *Lives of the Popes*, Vol. I, has a comprehensive chapter on the Renaissance as introduction, pp. 1–65; J. J. Walsh, in *The Century of Columbus*, pp. 427–544, discusses both the Latin and the vernacular literatures of the period. A very instructive book is Miss M. A. Cannon's *The Education of Women During the Renaissance*. See also " On the Italian Renaissance " in Bp. Shahan's *The Middle Ages*.

B. Inventions, Discoveries, Arts

341. The Invention of Printing. — All the books so far used in the world had been handwritten, and were, consequently, very expensive. A tome of moderate size was a precious possession. A library of a few hundred volumes represented an almost princely fortune. This scarcity of books had ever proved the greatest obstacle to general education. This was now to be changed. *About the middle of the fifteenth century John Gutenberg of Mayence invented the art of printing.*

The Chinese, it seems, had known the use of movable type for centuries. But it was of little advantage to them on account of the large number of characters in their language (see *Ancient World,* § 3). In Europe, too, the printing of pictures with short legends from entire plates was a regular trade at Gutenberg's time. His merit consists in devising an easy method for producing and multiplying metal type.

"This invention," says a great historian, "the mightiest and most important of civilization next to the art of writing, gave as it were wings to the human mind." "Most commendable," wrote Pope Innocent VIII in 1487, "is the art of printing, inasmuch as good and useful books are thereby easily multiplied."

The art spread rapidly. From the start it was most liberally patronized by ecclesiastics and monasteries.[1] The ancient Benedictine abbey of Subiaco was the first to set up a printing press in Italy and was followed by many convents in other countries. In 1474 William Caxton introduced printing into England. Next to Germany, Italy possessed the greatest number of presses. But by the end of the century nearly every large city in Europe had its printing establishments.

Naturally the printers produced the books that were in demand. Before the year 1500 there had appeared more than a hundred editions of the Latin Bible and dozens of translations of Holy Writ into the several vernacular languages. Alongside

[1] See "The Church and the Printing Press," in Casartelli's *Sketches in History.*

these were editions of the great ecclesiastical writers, "the Fathers of the Church," together with the Greek and Latin classics, grammars and other schoolbooks, catechisms and prayerbooks, and collections of religious and secular songs. This allows us to judge of the intellectual wants of the people. The trade in manuscripts, necessarily very limited, now gave way to a brisk international book trade with its centers in the prominent cities of Europe.

342. Other Important Inventions. — *The Mariner's Compass* seems to have received its present form from unknown hands about the beginning of the fourteenth century. It made possible the geographical discoveries which doubled the area of the accessible world (§ 344).

The Telescope, which brings within the reach of man's eye the distant stars, was invented by Galileo Galilei (§ 345) after he had heard of a curious optical toy constructed in Holland. With the aid of his own telescope Galilei discovered the phases of Venus and the rings of Saturn.

343. Renaissance Art. — In Italy, where there remained still many of the ancient edifices and monuments, — some in ruins, others in varying stages of preservation, — the new movement led to an imitation of the Roman manner of building. The Gothic was abandoned and another style of *architecture* grew up, called the *Renaissance Style*. Like the Romanesque (§ 277) it employed the round arch, and reintroduced many of the features found in the structures of the ancients. It often made use of the cupola. If we may deplore the passing of the graceful Gothic, we should remember that the mind of the people was no longer that of the thirteenth century. The new style easily adapted itself to all kinds of buildings, secular as well as ecclesiastical. Its best productions are characterized by a majestic beauty. One of its greatest creations is the present church of St. Peter in Rome.

Painting had made great progress. The artists of the Renaissance are among the best the world has ever known. Per-

spective was now well observed (§ 279). An improved method of handling oil colors made it possible to paint on canvas, whereas up to 1450 paintings were mainly frescoes, that is, carried out upon the freshly plastered walls of ceilings of edifices. The art now became more independent of architecture.

Italian painting culminated in the eighty years from 1470–1550. Between these dates came the work of Leonardo da Vinci, Michael

St. Peter's Church, Rome.

Angelo, Fra Angelico, Raphael, and scores of others. Many of these practiced more than one art; Michael Angelo was great as architect, engineer, painter, and sculptor, and he was not without fame as a poet. Germany had *Albert Dürer* and *Hans Holbein*. The great period of the Flemish and Dutch art was to come later, between 1600 and 1660, with *Rubens*, *Van Dyck*, and *Rembrandt*. At the same time flourished the Spaniards *Velasquez* and *Murillo*. Neither France nor England produced much in this direction at this time. Several of the great artists, however, found liberal patronage in Paris and London.

344. Geographical Discoveries. — Though in the Middle Ages the common people entertained the most fantastic ideas concerning the shape of the earth, the greater minds well knew that our planet is a globe. They had no correct knowledge, however, of the distribution of land and water and of the configuration of the continents. Their world practically did not reach farther than the Mediterranean and its immediate surroundings. But in the thirteenth century Franciscan missionaries returning from the Far East (§ 250) reported that there was an ocean east of "Cathai" (China). Other travelers even returned by sea from Peking through the Asiatic straits and the Indian Ocean. It was therefore clear that this ocean, the existence of which had been known in some nebulous way, was not landlocked. Friar Bacon (§ 275) in his boldness now advanced the idea that possibly the Atlantic Ocean was the one side of a large sea which with its other side washed the shores of China. Parts of his writings on this subject were embodied in a work which in later centuries became a favorite book of Christopher Columbus.

These speculations assumed practical shape when the Turks extended their power over all those lands which lay in the direct route to India, and thus rendered much more difficult and dangerous the commerce which had sprung up with that far-off country during the Crusades.

In the fifteenth century the Portuguese entered upon a career of naval discoveries under their great *Prince Henry the Navigator,* and in a series of daring voyages explored the western coast of Africa. On one of these cruises *Bartholomeo Diaz,* after sailing far into the South, was carried away by a storm to the eastward and observed that in this new and unfamiliar position he had the coast of Africa on his left hand. He had rounded the southern point of the African continent, the Cape of Good Hope. It was not before 1498, however, that *Vasco da Gama actually reached India.* So this country of fabulous

riches became directly accessible by sea. These discoveries gave Portugal the monopoly of the Indian trade, and enabled her to build up a vast empire of colonies in the countries around the Indian Ocean.

Some ten years before this happened, *Christopher Columbus* approached the King of Portugal with a scheme for finding a more direct way to India by sailing due west into the Atlantic. This, he thought, must bring him to the eastern coast of India. His offers were rejected. But the high-minded Queen Isabella of Castile (§ 318) furnished him the little fleet with which, *on the memorable 12th of October of the year 1492, he discovered the New World*, thinking, however, that he had reached the outlying islands of India. In the course of the next fifty years Spain sent out hundreds of daring adventurers, the "Conquistadores," who conquered for her nearly all South and Central America with enormous treasures of gold and silver.

By these discoveries the Mediterranean lost much of its importance as a highway of trade. This was a hard blow for the Italian cities which so far had been the principal factors in the European commerce with India.

345. Copernicus. — While the educated knew that the earth is a globe, they thought that it was the center of the universe, and that the sun and the planets were moving around it. The first to express serious doubts about this was Cardinal Nicholas Krebs, usually called, from his birthplace, Nicholas of Cusa. Nearly a century later he was followed by the Polish astronomer Copernicus, whose book setting forth the new theory appeared in 1543 and was dedicated to Pope Paul III. According to Copernicus the sun is the center of the solar system, while the earth daily revolves upon its own axis, and, together with the other planets, moves around the sun in longer intervals.

The moment was inopportune for such a theory. Luther had just declared the Bible the sole source of Faith. *The new system seemed to be in open conflict with the way in which Holy Scripture speaks of the*

movements of the celestial bodies. Hence the "Reformer" and his friends staunchly opposed Copernicus' views, which found few adherents among the Protestants. The controversy lasted seventy years, before the Catholic Church felt obliged to take a stand in this matter. In Italy *Galileo Galilei* advanced Copernicus' system without, however, being able to give a single convincing proof for it. All the arguments which he adduced have since been abandoned. To save the traditional interpretation of the Bible the Church authorities in 1616 prohibited books advocating the idea of Copernicus, unless so altered as to represent it as an hypothesis and not as a fact. Scientific discussion was never forbidden and in 1758 the prohibition was withdrawn.[1]

EXERCISE. — List of terms for brief explanation: Radical humanists, Gutenberg, Diaz, etc.

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[1] See Guggenberger, II, §§ 651–654. Or: Conway, *Studies in Church History*, pp. 155 ff. Hull, *Galileo and His Condemnation* (pamphlet).

BOOK II

FROM THE DISRUPTION OF RELIGIOUS UNITY TO OUR OWN TIMES

(Later Modern History)

CHARACTER OF THE NEW TIMES. — During the Era of Religious Unity the heads of states had never been too much inclined to listen to the dictates of justice. But they at least admitted the power of Church and Pope to speak to them authoritatively on whatever matters involved questions of moral right or wrong. During the last period of that Era, however, various causes, in particular the growth of absolutism and the degradation of the papacy, brought about an ever growing estrangement between the secular and the spiritual power. This estrangement will now increase. The Reformation will even tear away a number of European states from Christian Unity.

Now the Church has always been the professional champion of justice and charity. Hence with the Church relegated to the background of European politics, or completely ignored, the greatest moral force will be partly or wholly eliminated from international relations. In political dissensions the question of justice will be more neglected, and might alone will decide. True, the pope will continue to be looked up to as the spiritual head of the Catholic world. Occasionally his voice will be heard in the councils of the potentates. Some important public action will be prompted and guided by the dictates of morality. *But an increasing preponderance of might over right will be the general character of the history of Europe during the coming centuries.*

PART I. THE DISRUPTION OF RELIGIOUS UNITY

CHAPTER XX

NEED AND POSSIBILITY OF TRUE REFORM[1]

346. The Evils in the Church. — It cannot be denied that *towards the end of the fifteenth century the Church stood in need of a general reform.* The number of those of the *faithful* who grossly violated their moral duties was alarmingly great. Divine worship was indeed celebrated with becoming splendor and regularity. But there was a tendency to overdo certain religious practices, such as pilgrimages, or to attach to them an efficacy which savored of superstition. In the private lives of vast numbers, there was not only ample room but a crying need for a thoroughgoing improvement. Considering, on the other hand, the numerous acts of piety and devotion, and the general liberality practiced towards charitable institutions, it is not at all likely that very many refused on their deathbed to be sincerely reconciled with God. (See § 219.)

347. Still more ominous than the foregoing evils was a deplorable relaxation of morals in the higher and lower *clergy*, and a sad lack of religious discipline in many *monasteries*. Thus the very circles from which a reform should have come were largely unfit and unwilling to undertake it or to coöperate with it.

There were in particular two abuses which helped to increase and perpetuate the unsound state of the clergy.

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[1] Review § 219.

(1) *The plurality of benefices.* The number of ecclesiastical positions was very great and many of them were lavishly endowed. Now it had become rather common to confer several such "benefices" upon one person. One man, for instance, was made bishop of two dioceses, or bishop of one diocese and at the same time "canon" (§ 142, note) of the cathedral of another; or canon of the cathedral and parish priest of one or more opulent parishes. It was supposed that he would in person perform the duties of one of these offices and employ a competent priest to take his place in the others.[1]

In some cases, however, even this abuse might be tolerated, because there were many ecclesiastical endowments, to which hardly any actual duties were attached. Such benefices were frequently given to university professors whose regular salary was often very meager, or to poor clerics who wished to pursue higher studies in the universities.

(2) *The bestowal of responsible ecclesiastical positions upon mere boys,* commonly the scions of noble families. In such cases a priest was intrusted with the duties of the office, while the father of the young incumbent attended to the administration of the property. Often youngsters of sixteen years and less were the possessors of several benefices, which put rich revenues at the disposal of their parents.

These evils were rife in all countries and cities, Rome included; and their pernicious character was so little realized that the best families were not free from them. As a boy of twelve years, St. Charles Borromeo, the child of very pious parents, was the abbot of a rich Benedictine monastery. When, later on, he was made Archbishop of Milan, he found that his predecessors had not been residing in the city for eighty years, and that their principal occupation had been to draw the revenues. His own first act was to abdicate twelve abbeys which had been granted to him merely on account of his family connections, in the course of several years.

[1] Thus Albrecht of Brandenburg, brother of the Elector of Brandenburg (of the Hohenzollern family, § 333, note), was Archbishop of Magdeburg and Mayence, administrator of the Bishopric of Halberstadt, and held at the same time canonicates in several other places.

348. Most disastrous, however, was the *sad condition of the papacy,* just at a time when zealous and energetic popes should have devoted all their power to a far-reaching reform. The best among the popes of the period had their attention engaged in warding off the Turkish danger from Europe; or in frustrating the French projects for a conquest of all Italy. Too many of the *cardinals,* too, were simply rich grandees with ecclesiastical titles and revenues but with little ecclesiastical spirit. An evil, rampant in other places also but nowhere so pernicious as in the capital of Christendom, was *nepotism,* that is, the promotion to high offices of near relatives of the pope and other influential dignitaries. While this cannot be objected to as long as the persons thus promoted possess the necessary qualifications, it was in fact a chief cause of the worldliness which was conspicuous among the highest prelates of the Church. It reached its climax under the unfortunate Alexander VI (1492–1503).

Being the nephew of Pope Calixtus III (1455–1458) he had risen, in spite of the scandals of his life, to the cardinalate, and had obtained important positions in the government of the Church. When pope his private conduct improved somewhat, but his court was not much different from that of profligate secular princes. He conceived the suicidal plan of changing the Papal States into a secular kingdom in favor of his relatives. The Divine character of the papacy, however, appeared even in a man like Alexander VI. He took some steps to encourage monastic life, to spread devotion to the Blessed Virgin, and to safeguard the purity of ecclesiastical doctrine. He did not forget the propagation of the Faith in foreign lands. The fine arts found in him a liberal patron. But no project of general and thorough reform could count upon the support of such a pope.

With gross exaggerations the deplorable conditions at the Roman court were heralded throughout the world. They gave color to all kinds of charges not only against the morals of the highest Church officials but also against the methods of papal administration. Louder than ever grew the clamor against the various *ecclesiastical taxes* (§ 328) which on certain occasions

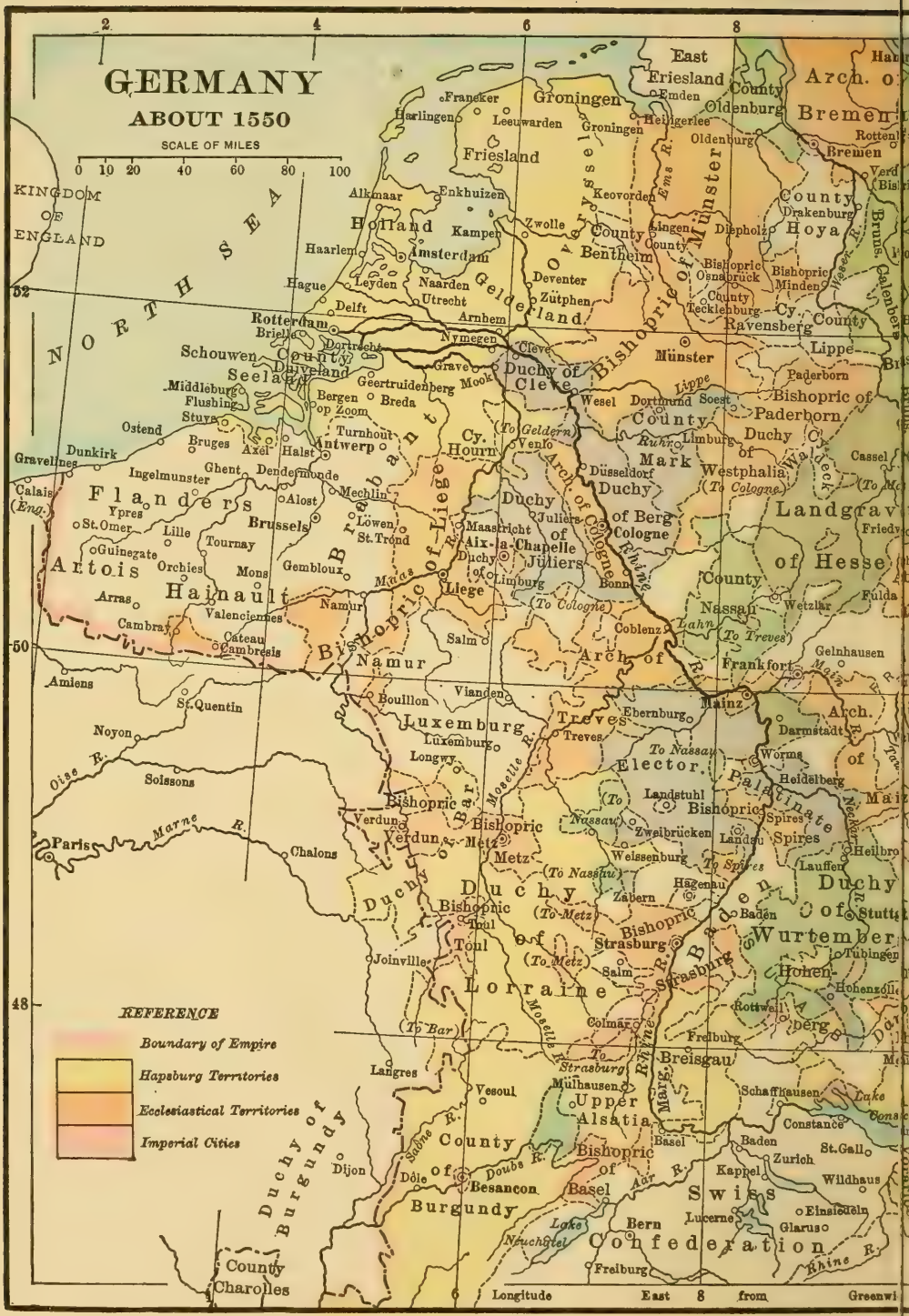
the bishops and other prelates were obliged to send to Rome as contributions to the expenses of the government of the Church. The prelates showed unwillingness to pay them, and the secular rulers protested against the constant flow of money to Rome as too severe a drain upon their territories.

The bad example thus given by the very men who were rightly expected to be the light of the world sadly reacted upon the lives of the laity. *The respect for ecclesiastical offices,* for that of the Sovereign Pontiff in particular, suffered greatly. This was noticeable in all countries, but more so in Germany, where the consequences of the Avignon period, and the Great Schism, the ideas spread by the half-revolutionary Council of Basel, and the effects of the Hussite agitation had left a ferment of dissatisfaction. (See §§ 328–335.)

349. Possibility of a True Reform. — Reform again became the watchword of serious and honest as well as of shallow minds. But none raised the cry more noisily than those who were the least willing to suffer any restraint upon their passions, and those who expected some material emolument from the restrictions to be imposed upon others. It would be wrong, however, to suppose that even the worst, as a rule, understood their demand in a revolutionary sense.

Nor were the persons wanting, who used all their influence, great or modest according to their station, to work zealously for a genuine reform. We must point at least to a few of them.

350. True Reformers. — The kingdom of Spain (§ 318) found a reformer of the first rank in *Cardinal Ximenes,* a member of the Franciscan Order. Austere in his private life, a lover of humanistic as well as scholastic studies, and an able administrator, he was eminently qualified for his task. Pope and monarchs gave him their hearty support. He succeeded in inspiring the priests of Spain with love of both virtue and learning. He undertook a general visitation of the monasteries, and in carrying out reforms he went so far as even to banish dissolute monks from the kingdom. At his death, 1517, Spain possessed a pious, zealous, and well-educated clergy.


GERMANY
ABOUT 1550
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 40 60 80 100
2
4
6
8
52
50
48
NORTH SEA
KINGDOM OF ENGLAND
Holland
Friesland
East Friesland County
Groningen
Oldenburg
Bremen
Arch. of
Münster
Bishopric of Münster
Osnabruck
Minden
Ravensberg
Lippe
Paderborn
Bishopric of Paderborn
Duchy of Cleve
Duchy of Gelderland
Overyssel
Bentheim
Hoya
Diepholz
Drakenburg
Schouwen
Duveland
County of Seelant
Middleburg
Flushing
Stuyts
Ostend
Dunkirk
Gravelines
Calais (Eng.)
Bruges
Axel
Halst
Antwerp
Turnhout
Bergen op Zoom
Breda
Geertruidenberg
Mook
Grave
Nymegen
Arnhem
Rotterdam
Brielle
Dortrecht
Delft
Leyden
Hague
Haarlem
Amsterdam
Alkmaar
Enkhuizen
Harlingen
Francker
Leeuwarden
Emden
Heiligerlee
Oldenburg
Bremen
Rottenl
Verd
Bis
Brunsw
Calenberg
Cy. Ravensberg
County Tecklenburg
Cy.
Lippe
Bishopric of Paderborn
Duchy of Cleve
Wesel
Dortmund
Soest
Lippe
Ruhr
Limburg
Duchy of Westphalia
(To Cologne)
Mark
Düsseldorf
Duchy of Berg
Cologne
Arch of Cologne
Rhine
Cy. Hourn
(To Geldern)
Venlo
Ingelmunster
Ghent
Dendermonde
Alost
Mechlin
Flanders
Ypres
St. Omer
Lille
Tournay
Brussels
Löwen
St. Trond
Brabant
Guinegate
Orchies
Mons
Gembloux
Artois
Hainault
Arras
Cambrai
Valenciennes
Cateau Cambresis
Namur
Meuse
Bishopric of Liege
Duchy of Juliers
Aix-la-Chapelle
Juliers
Limburg
Liege
(To Cologne)
Bonn
Coblenz
Lahn
(To Treves)
Nassau
Wetzlar
Fulda
County of Hesse
Landgrav
Friedy
Cassel
(To Mc
Gelnhausen
Frankfort
Main R.
Arch. of Mainz
Darmstadt
Worms
Heidelberg
Elector Palatine
Landstuhl Bishopric
Spires
Landau
Zweibrücken
Weissenburg
(To Nassau)
To Spires
Lauffen
Heilbro
Duchy of Wurtemberg
Baden
Tübingen
Hohenzoll
Rottweil
Freiburg
Breisgau
Schaffhausen
Lake Cons
Constance
Zurich
St. Gall
Wildhaus
Einsiedeln
Glarus
Lucerne
Bern
Swiss Confederation
Neuchâtel
Lake
Basel
Bishopric of Basel
Kappel
Aar R.
Rhine R.
Baden
Switzerland
Amiens
St. Quentin
Noyon
Oise R.
Soissons
Paris
Marne R.
Chalons
Vianden
Bouillon
Luxemburg
Longwy
Duchy of Luxemburg
Ebernburg
Treves
To Nassau
Bishopric of Verdun
Verdun
Metz
Bishopric of Metz
(To Nassau)
Duchy of Bar
Moselle R.
Toul
Bishopric of Toul
(To Metz)
Joinville
Bishopric of Strasburg
Strasburg
Zabern
Hagenau
Salm
Lorraine
(To Bar)
Colmar
To Strasburg
Mülhausen
Upper Alsatia
Langres
Vesoul
Dijon
Duchy of Burgundy
Saône R.
Doubs R.
Dôle
Besançon
County of Burgundy
County Charolles
Freiburg
Breisgau
Rhine R.
Main R.
Neckar R.
Longitude East 8 from Greenwi
REFERENCE
Boundary of Empire
Hapsburg Territories
Ecclesiastical Territories
Imperial Cities

10
12
14
16
52
50
48
Duchy of Mecklenburg
Bishopric of Schwerin
Lauenburg
Sax. Lauenburg
Duchy of Brunswick
Lüneburg
Pomerania
Stettin
Uckermark
Stendal
Priegnitz County
Ruppin
Margraviate of Brandenburg
Altmark
Elbe R.
Havel R.
Oder R.
Neumark
Netze R.
KINGDOM OF POLAND
Wartha R.
Obornik
Posen
Küstrin
Frankfort
Schwiebus
Berlin
Brandenburg
Köln
Spree R.
Storkow
Arch. of Magdeburg
Arch. of Mittelmark
Celle
Sievershausen
Brunswick
Bishopric Wolfenbüttel
Wolfenbüttel
Hildesheim
Magdeburg
Halberstadt
Zerbst
Wittenberg
Lübben
Lower Lusatia
Guben
Fraustadt
Halberstadt
Goslar
Dessau
Kottbus
Glogau
Bruns. Grubenhagen
Nordhausen
Göttingen
Mansfeld
Eisleben
Halle
Torgau
Duchy of Sagan
Duchy of Silesia
Richsfeld
Frankenhausen
Merseburg
Mühlberg
Elbe R.
Prin. of Liegnitz
Oder R.
To Mainz
Mülhausen
Naumburg
Merseburg
Leipzig
Upper Lusatia
Lobau
Görlitz
Prin. of Brieg
Electorate of Saxony
Gotha
Erfurt
Weimar
Jena
Wartburg
Zeitz
Dresden
Zittau
Duchy of Saxony
Chemnitz
Zwickau
Elbe R.
County of Glatz
Henneberg
Cy. Reuss
Plauen
Adorf
Eger R.
KINGDOM OF BOHEMIA
Bishopric of Bamberg
Bishopric of Fulda
Saxony
Kulmbach
Bayreuth
Eger
Prague
Elbe R.
March R.
Konlesberg
Bamberg
Peraun R.
Pilsen
Moldau R.
Sazawa R.
Upper Palatinate
Margraviate of Moravia
Windsheim
To Bayreuth
Nuremburg
Altdorf
Tabor
Brünn
Rothenburg
Schwabach
Ansbach
Ansbach
Ratisbon
Budweis
Bishopric of Passau
Arch. of Austria
Nordlingen
Eichstadt
Ingolstadt
Landau
Donauworth
Neuburg
Altdorf
Passau
Danube R.
Linz
Mölk
Pressburg
Vienna
Augsburg
Landshut
Burgau
Augsburg
Bavaria
Lech R.
Munich
Isar R.
Inn R.
Salzach R.
Enns R.
Steyer
Austria
Neustadt
Salzburg
Berchtesgaden
Kempten
Arch. of Salzburg
Leoben
Bruck
Ehrenberger Pass
Hall
Pinzgau R.
Duchy of Styria
Innsbruck
Gastein
Graz
Rabb R.
Brenner
To Salzburg
To Bamberg
County of Tyrol
Duchy of Carinthia
Mur R.
Engadin
Tyrol
Brixen (Bishopric)
To Gorz
Klagenfurt
Radkersburg
Etsch R.
VENICE
Bleiburg

Cardinal Ximenes had the revenues of a king and the personal wants of a hermit. Much of his fortune went to the establishment of the University of Alcala, which by the attention given to theology, Biblical studies, classic and Oriental languages, and the secular branches, soon rivaled the best institutions in Europe. It was endowed with numerous scholarships to make the pursuit of academic studies possible for the poor. To render easier the scientific study of Holy Scriptures, the cardinal engaged a number of scholars to bring out a polyglot Bible, which gave in parallel columns the Hebrew, Latin, Greek, and Chaldaic texts, with dictionaries and grammars of Hebrew and Chaldaic. It was the first printed polyglot. The books these learned men needed were bought irrespective of cost. Once the cardinal paid 4000 ducats for six Hebrew manuscripts.

351. About the same time that Ximenes began to reform Spain, Germany was the scene of the activity of another great reformer, Cardinal Nicholas Krebs, commonly called *Nicholas of Cusa* (§ 345). Like Ximenes " he was first and foremost a reformer of his own person. His life was a very mirror of all priestly virtue." " His mind embraced all provinces of human knowledge, but all his knowledge was from God and its sole object was the glory of God and the edification and amendment of men." In 1552 Pope Nicholas V sent him as legate to Germany, where reformation was badly needed. He assembled the German bishops in the metropolitan cities for the celebration of Provincial Councils and took vigorous measures to insure the observance of ecclesiastical laws. About a hundred and fifty Benedictine monasteries, not to mention those of other Orders, were visited and, if necessary, reformed. Everywhere he insisted above all upon the active union with Rome, which had suffered greatly. (See end of § 348.) If not all the good seed he sowed brought forth good fruit, it was partly due to the shortness of his activity, as the pope soon employed him on other missions.

On a smaller scale labored the eloquent *John Geiler*, for many years preacher at the cathedral of Strassburg, a virtuous, charitable, and highly educated priest, whose many-sided and powerful influence for true reform extended over a great part of Southern Germany.

A corporate movement of reform was begun by the *Society of the Brethren of Common Life*. In order to serve God more perfectly several ecclesiastics under the leadership of *Gerard Groot*, Canon of Deventer, Holland, resolved to lead a community life and to follow most of the practices of Religious, without, however, binding themselves by vows. Their peculiar activity was preaching, teaching, and the writing and

disseminating of good literature. They also made it their special object to befriend poor students. A part of them, however, soon formed a real religious Order, the "Congregation of Windesheim," which worked in the same spirit and served as a support and backing of the Brethren of the Common Life. Both communities exerted a far-reaching influence, chiefly through the students of their many higher schools, and their reformatory efforts among the secular and regular clergy were fruitful of astonishing results. They were the teachers of Cardinal Nicholas Cusa and of Nicholas Copernicus (§ 345). Thomas à Kempis, author of the famous booklet, "The Imitation of Christ," was a member of the Congregation of Windesheim.

352. The foregoing remarks about true reformers are not meant to do full justice to this consoling subject. They serve, however, in some degree to counteract a wrong impression which the exposition of the evils in the Church is apt to produce. **The Church was not to be despaired of.** Her old vitality was by no means gone. These very times brought forth more than eighty Saints in Italy alone. This same period saw the appearance of many excellent books on Christian morals and on the reception of the sacraments. And the disciples of Gerard Groot and the writers set to work by Cardinal Ximenes were only a few of the many authors who issued useful works. There was shown, moreover, a lavish liberality in the establishment of new hospitals and schools and towards charitable institutions in general. It was not the fault of the immortal Church that the blameworthy life of many of her members and ministers became the pretext for a revolution which tore away large countries from ecclesiastical unity.

CHAPTER XXI

THE REFORMATION PERIOD ON THE CONTINENT

A. The Protestant Reformation in Germany

353. The Indulgence. — About the end of the fifteenth century the venerable Basilica of St. Peter, which had been built by Constantine the Great (§ 40), was threatened with destruction. The pope had therefore resolved to take it down, and erect a new structure, magnificently planned in accordance with Renaissance ideals (§ 343). To facilitate the collection of funds, Pope Leo X, in 1514, promised a *plenary indulgence* to those who would, according to their means, contribute to so praiseworthy an undertaking — besides of course fulfilling the conditions usual in the case of a plenary indulgence, namely, the reception of the sacraments.

An indulgence was then what it is now: a remission, outside of the sacrament of penance, of temporal punishment due to sins which are already forgiven. The Church attaches indulgences to certain good works, which she wishes to encourage, as prayers, pilgrimages, acts of mercy. Sometimes the good work is almsgiving, or contribution towards the building of a church, or toward other charitable or pious enterprises.

354. *Archbishop Albrecht of Mayence* (§ 347, note) *was commissioned by Pope Leo X* to publish the indulgence in a large part of Germany and send the money thus gathered to Rome. He in turn appointed subcommissioners. The latter, commonly learned, pious, and eloquent preachers, went from place to place, sought by appropriate sermons to rouse the people to genuine contrition and a good confession, and collected the alms that were offered.

It is evident that this procedure, though correct in itself, was open to serious abuses. The commissioners might lay more stress on liberal donations than on the necessity of contrition and confession. On handing in his alms a person received an indulgence certificate, by which ample faculties were granted to any confessor whom the holder of the certificate might choose. This feature in particular was apt to leave on superficial minds the impression of a mere business transaction, the more so as the commissioner was allowed to raise or lower the amount according to his estimation of the applicant's wealth.[1]

355. Archbishop Albrecht of Mayence Appointed John Tetzel, a Dominican friar, as his chief subcommissioner. This much maligned priest, personally of blameless character, undoubtedly went too far in his endeavors to procure financial success. He insisted indeed on the necessity of contrition and confession for all those who wished to obtain the remission of temporal punishment for themselves; but his teaching concerning the indulgence for the dead was not free from serious errors. To secure this benefit for a soul which has, of course, departed this life in the state of Grace, nothing, according to him, is required but the alms. He who wishes to apply it to the soul of a deceased person need not be in the state of Grace or have any contrition for his sins. This doctrine, though at his time actually taught by some irresponsible preachers, has never been supported by ecclesiastical authority. Tetzel's own brethren in religion openly reproached him for his ill-advised tactics, which soon became the talk of the whole country.[2]

[1] The earliest case on record of a pope granting an indulgence for the purpose of raising money occurred in 1394, when the Great Schism had obstructed many of the ordinary sources of papal revenue. Charges of abuses became loud at once. In fact, whenever the same means was resorted to in the course of the next century, the same complaints, founded or unfounded, were sure to follow. Great men, as Cardinal Ximenes, openly expressed the opinion that such indulgences ought to be granted less frequently and then only with better precautions against abuses. In the case of the indulgence proclaimed by Leo X, the matter was aggravated by the reports of the scandalous way in which the proceeds of the jubilee indulgence of 1500 had been disposed of under Alexander VI.

[2] It is without the slightest reason that Tetzel's opponents accuse him of

They furnished another element of discontent to those who sincerely or hypocritically lamented the evils of the Church.

356. Martin Luther. — At this time there lived in Wittenberg, in the Electorate of Saxony, as a professor in the university of that city, an Augustinian friar, already famous for his vigorous popular eloquence and his great ability in teaching. Martin Luther was born in 1483. After entering the Order, he was for many years looked upon as an edifying religious. But the question whether his sins were really forgiven began to worry and torment him. Being of a headstrong and self-willed disposition, he refused to listen to the advice of his confessors and superiors, and endeavored to settle his troubles by his own reasoning and studies. At the same time he became more and more remiss in the observance of his Rules and the practices of piety.

At last he imagined he had made the discovery that the doctrine of the Church concerning the remission of sins was altogether wrong. He thereby implied that Christ, contrary to His solemn promise, had allowed the Church to fall into a most disastrous error. The new system, which gradually developed in Luther's mind, confused the nature of sin with concupiscence, which is a consequence of original sin, and while it makes man inclined to sin is no sin in itself. By the sin of Adam, he thought, human nature was corrupted beyond recovery; man's acts can only be bad; but Jesus Christ covers the soul with His infinite merits, which, as it were, conceal all trespasses from the eye of the just God; if sinful man expresses his firm "belief" in this merciful dispensation, God will not punish him, though the sin is not taken away, but merely covered; the sinner therefore ever remains a sinner; the sins committed by St. Paul before his

an immoral life or ascribe to him such silly statements as that indulgences remit sins without contrition and confession, or the duty of restitution, or that they are even pardons for future sins. The saying, however, that the soul jumps out of purgatory as soon as the money tinkles in the box, may not be literally his, but is in keeping with his erroneous doctrine.

conversion were never truly forgiven. It is evident that such a justification is no justification at all, and it will always remain a riddle how Luther could maintain that he had found such a monstrous doctrine in the Bible.

He had already begun to propound these ideas in the pulpit as well as in the lecture room. It was rumored abroad that a strange kind of theology was being taught at Wittenberg. So far, however, Luther did not think of separating himself from the organization of the Church.

357. The Beginning of Hostilities. — When Tetzel on his preaching and collecting tour arrived in the neighborhood of Wittenberg and people flocked to him, Luther at once took up the subject of indulgences. In his lectures, sermons, and in the confessional he inveighed against Tetzel. On the Eve of All Saints' Day, that is, on **Oct. 31, 1517**, he posted a set of 95 theses on the door of the principal church. These propositions he offered to defend in public disputation against all comers.

The greater number of these theses treated of indulgences, but attacked rather the doctrine itself than the abuses connected with it. Nearly half of the theses impugned other points of ecclesiastical teaching, particularly the power of the Church relative to the remission of sins. Though the theses were written in Latin, the language was less scientific than calculated to catch the popular mind by appealing to prejudices and passions.

Such challenges were by no means uncommon in the universities (§ 267). But Luther's theses created a sensation far beyond the circles of the university and the confines of the city. Within a short time they were the talk of the whole country. Luther saw his advantage and followed up his success with other writings, both popular and scientific. Opposition arose, and soon a brisk literary warfare was going on. Many serious-minded men sided with the bold monk, in whom as yet they hailed a courageous champion of their own just complaints. The radical humanists, of whom there was a great number in

Germany at that time, took up his cause enthusiastically. His religious superiors and the bishop of the diocese left him at liberty. The prince in whose territory he lived, the Elector of Saxony, was rather pleased to notice that the university which he himself had founded attracted so much attention.

Luther became more and more audacious. In the struggle with his adversaries, the dogmas of the Church were thrown overboard one by one, and his own system grew more definite and radical.[1]

358. The Final Break with the Church. — When Pope Leo X sent a legate to Germany to investigate the causes of the disturbance, Luther first appealed to the pope himself, later from the ill-informed pope to a better-informed one, — a step which was revolution pure and simple, — then from any pope to a General Council, next from all Councils to the Bible, and lastly from the Bible to himself as the supreme judge of the right interpretation of the Bible. Several of the books of Holy Writ were pointed out to him as being in the most glaring contrast to his self-made teachings. He boldly declared they did not belong to the Bible at all. He still wrote most submissive letters to the Roman Pontiff, while in his works he reviled him as the Antichrist and worse than the Turk. Since 1519 he appears resolved to break completely with the Church.

By this time he had rejected the supernatural efficacy of the sacraments; had declared void the religious vows, and the duty of celibacy in priests; had deprived matrimony of its supernatural character as sacrament and of its indissolubility; had denied the dignity and jurisdiction of pope and bishops; and had invited the emperor and other temporal rulers to seize upon the rich ecclesiastical possessions, including the Papal States.

Several attempts to win back the talented man by kindness had failed. At last the pope solemnly condemned forty-one of Luther's theses and expressly threatened excommunication

[1] On Luther see the pamphlet, *The Facts about Luther*, by P. O'Hare.

against him if he would not recant within sixty days. Counting upon the support of his humanist friends and of all the dissatisfied elements in clergy and laity, on the protection of his prince, the Elector of Saxony, and on the assistance of a widespread party of disgruntled knights, Luther defied the papal verdict. He secured a copy of the bull and in view of a large crowd of students and people threw it into a bonfire before the gates of Wittenberg, Dec. 10, 1520. Thus the break with the Church and the whole Christian past was finally sealed.

359. Luther before the Diet of Worms. — In 1519 Emperor Maximilian had died. One of his last acts had been an earnest and rather gloomy letter to the Roman authorities to bring to their notice the innovations that were taking place in the empire. He was succeeded by his grandson *Charles, king of the vast Spanish dominions* in both hemispheres.[1]

The young *Emperor Charles V* saw himself confronted with the religious complications in Germany. The numerous and powerful adherents of the apostate monk demanded that the emperor take the matter in hand. Since the highest ecclesiastical authority had meanwhile given a final verdict, Charles V consistently refused to allow a

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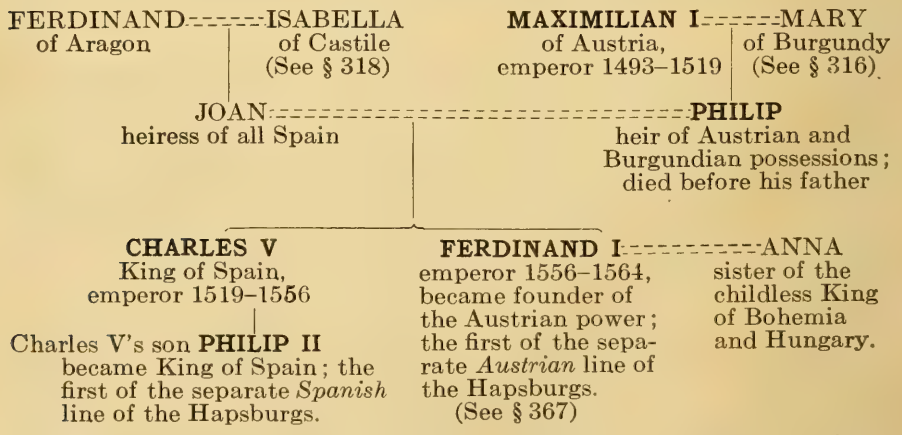
[1] The following table, will help to clear up the family connections which led to this accumulation of power and its subsequent division.


FERDINAND of Aragon
ISABELLA of Castile (See § 318)
MAXIMILIAN I of Austria, emperor 1493–1519
MARY of Burgundy (See § 316)
JOAN heiress of all Spain
PHILIP heir of Austrian and Burgundian possessions; died before his father
CHARLES V King of Spain, emperor 1519–1556
FERDINAND I emperor 1556–1564, became founder of the Austrian power; the first of the separate Austrian line of the Hapsburgs. (See § 367)
ANNA sister of the childless King of Bohemia and Hungary.
Charles V's son PHILIP II became King of Spain; the first of the separate Spanish line of the Hapsburgs.

The symbol ===== means "married." The names of Hapsburg princes are printed in heavy capitals.

formal judicial proceeding. But he consented that Luther be given another chance to declare his submission, and promised to intercede for him with the Supreme Pontiff.

With an imperial safe-conduct Luther came to the Diet at Worms, 1521, the first which Charles held. But the monk's obstinacy destroyed every hope of reconciliation. The emperor pronounced against him the "Edict of Worms," which was to take effect after sixty days. It declared Luther an outlaw, ordered his books to be burned, and forbade all Germans to profess his doctrines or give him any assistance or encouragement. The Elector of Saxony and other princes, however, refused to allow the Edict to be carried out in their territories and were too powerful to be forced into obedience.[1]

360. The Rebellion of the Lower Nobility. — When Luther defied the pope, he counted on a revolutionary movement which was spreading in the empire. It proceeded from two strata of the population, the lower nobility and the peasants.

The ascendency of the foot soldier (§§ 208, 315) had deprived the lower nobility of their natural occupation. The English knights had found another field of usefulness, but the German knights had not. This numerous class consisted of men who owned each a castle with some land which, in many cases, did not yield enough to allow them the expensive style of living which they thought was the privilege of their station. Moreover, the old national laws were gradually supplanted by the Justinian Code, which greatly favored the power of territorial rulers (§ 63). Though exemplary in many ways it was after all a foreign law, grown out of different circumstances. It did away with

[1] Luther possessed a perfect control of his native tongue and knew how to talk to the common people. This, together with an incredible capacity for work, is one of the many causes of his success. Pamphlets and leaflets were his favorite weapons, and they always appeared at the right moment. In 1521 he began his German translation of the Bible, which is recognized to be more genuinely German than any of the eighteen that preceded him. (He did not make the language, as is often claimed; but he devoted much time and study to mastering it more thoroughly.) He did not scruple to manipulate the sacred text so as to suit his own new doctrines. One of his Catholic opponents stated that he had counted not less than 1400 false or inaccurate renderings. Luther's Bible had an enormous sale and incidentally contributed much to fix and generalize the language. It was soon, however, successfully rivaled by good Catholic translations.

the old popular courts and introduced new ones presided over by trained jurists, who managed to draw out the proceedings in order to get larger fees. For poorer people, including the lower nobility, it was very difficult to obtain redress. There was, therefore, a general state of discontent, which drove many knights into the ranks of the highway robbers.

One Francis von Sickingen had made himself the champion of the " oppressed " knights. By the promise of unlimited plunder he gathered large bands around him, harassed the cities and princes, extorted large sums of money, and tormented and killed the helpless inhabitants of villages and monasteries. For a change he served as a French general. Luther's declamations and writings against pope and bishops made Sickingen a soldier of the " Gospel." Ulric von Hutten, a profligate of the same stamp, but also a writer of elegant Latin verse, had helped to gain him for the cause of Luther.

After the Diet of Worms, Sickingen conceived the plan of building up a kingdom for the new religion. He even thought of dislodging the emperor and driving the pope out of Italy. He secretly gathered thousands of knights and marched, in 1522, against the Archbishop of Treves, an uncompromising opponent of Luther's " Gospel." But the attack upon the city failed. Sickingen retired, devastating the country fearfully. He soon fell mortally wounded while defending his own castle.[1] — This was the first war waged in the name of the new religion.

361. The Rebellion of the Peasants. — During the preceding century the German peasants, whether serfs or not, had, on the whole, been prosperous. But this prosperity rapidly declined.

The rise of commerce had caused the formation of merchants' companies, or trusts, which artificially raised the price of all commodities. The peasants themselves had become involved in debts by their extravagance. But historians mention above all the introduction of the

[1] Guggenberger, II, §§ 197, 198. Janssen, *History of the German People*, III, pp. 276–308.

Roman law as one of the chief causes of the deterioration of their condition. Then came the "Gospel" of Luther. "His pamphlets were full of appeals to the worst human passions. The burning of convents, the plundering and slaying of priests and bishops, was declared to be not only pleasing to God but necessary under pain of damnation. He heaped calumnies and insults on the princes who closed their countries to his 'Gospel,' and hurled invectives even against the emperor himself." The peasants drew their own conclusions from this gospel of hate. They formulated their demands, some of which, however, were fully justified, in what they called the Peasants' Articles. Large sections of these they had taken from Luther's writings. Their banner was the "Bundschuh," a coarse peasant's clog, raised upon a pole.

Thus began the frightful revolution called the Peasants' War, which involved about one fifth of Germany. It took armies of ten and twenty thousand soldiers to put it down. There had been other peasants' risings in Germany before this, but never had such acts of fiendish cruelty been committed. It was the effect of the preaching of Luther and the Lutherans. The soldiers on their part retaliated with equal ferocity. When Luther perceived that the cause of the peasants was lost, he savagely turned around and hounded on the princes to inflict the most terrible punishments.[1]

As a result of this war, more than a thousand castles and monasteries lay in ashes on a territory smaller than the State of Ohio. Contemporary writers estimate the number of the slain at 150,000. The country swarmed with beggared widows and orphans. As the original records were destroyed, the peasants had to consent to new terms or were refused definite contracts.[2] In the seventeenth century the Thirty Years' War completed the degradation of most of the German peasantry. It was long before they rose again to the prosperity they had possessed in the fifteenth century.

[1] See Husslein and Reville, *What Luther Taught*, pp. 48–55; Guggenberger, II, §§ 199–203; Janssen, *History of the German People*, IV, pp. 121–369.

[2] While the horrible carnage was going on, Martin Luther celebrated his wedding with Catharine Bora, an escaped nun.

362. Lutheranism and the Temporal Rulers. — By his attitude during and after the Peasants' War, Luther had forfeited the adherence of the lower classes. The new doctrine had put an end to the episcopal jurisdiction in the territories of certain princes. Hence Luther now turned to these temporal rulers and made them heads of their respective "churches." There were now as many "popes" as Lutheran princes. In these principalities the "Church" became the servant of the state, a kind of spiritual police department.[1]

In former centuries the people could appeal from a tyrannical Henry IV of Germany, or a Henry II of England, or a Philip II of France to a higher judge, the Roman pontiff. The very presence of an independent priesthood was a check on princely despotism. The new religion rendered the subject helpless. There was already a strong tendency in all rulers, great and small, to make themselves absolute. Luther and the movement he started enormously furthered these endeavors. It is now that princely absolutism really begins. Catholic rulers also succumbed to this contagious disease.

B. Emperor Charles V (1519–1556)

363. Charles V and the Religious Question. — Charles V was sincerely attached to the Church and resolved to preserve Germany in the Catholic religion. But his difficulties were great. He had many troubles in his kingdom of Spain. His

[1] In a Diet held at Spires (Speyer), 1529, the Catholic party, still in the majority, had an imperial edict passed which forbade the Lutheran princes to molest their Catholic subjects. Against this fair enactment the Lutherans "protested," and henceforth they, as well as all those sects that arose later, were designated as *Protestants*. This merely negative term strikingly expresses the fact that the new religion has not produced any positive element for the betterment of mankind. The following year, at Augsburg, the Protestant princes presented to the emperor a lengthy document, which set forth their belief. It is called the *Augsburg Confession* and is recognized by the Lutherans as their "Creed." It was, however, opposed by some of their own number from the beginning.

almost continuous wars kept him away very frequently from the empire and made him dependent on the good will of his subjects. Hence his ill-advised policy of reconciliation, which led him to expect too much from concessions to the innovators. Had he shown more firmness, no doubt the losses of the Church would have been smaller. Toward the end of his reign he even meddled in doctrinal matters. He had set his hope upon a General Council to be celebrated on German soil. But the means he used to bring it about and his attempts at interfering with its workings cannot but be severely condemned. On the other hand he certainly was instrumental in saving at least one half of Germany for the true faith.

His brother Ferdinand, who commonly represented the absent emperor, though personally a devout Catholic, shared his too conciliatory views.

364. The Foreign Wars of Charles V. — Francis I, King of France, carried on four wars against the emperor. In the second, which the French king began contrary to his sworn promise, even Pope Clement VII was on his side, because it seemed the emperor might become too powerful in Italy. The pope, however, soon wished to withdraw, and in fact an armistice had already been arranged for. But the imperial army, consisting of German Lutherans, Spaniards, and Italians, demanded the arrears of their pay. When this was not forthcoming, they marched against Rome. Their most popular leader fell while scaling the walls; and thus Rome, the most cultured city of the world, was for a whole month at the mercy of some 40,000 troopers who had nobody to control them. Deeds of unspeakable cruelty and destruction were perpetrated. The peace which concluded this war is called the *Ladies' Peace*, because its conditions were fixed by the mother of Francis and the aunt of Charles.

In 1530 Charles V was crowned by Pope Clement VII in Bologna, — the last coronation of an emperor of the Holy

Roman Empire. All his successors were merely "Emperors Elect." (See § 312.)

365. Meanwhile the *Turks* under their Sultan Soleyman had overrun all Hungary, and with an army of 200,000 men laid siege to Vienna, the capital of the Austrian dominions, 1529. The garrison of not more than 12,000, under their aged commander, Count Salm, held out heroically, until the approach of the winter forced the Turks to retreat. Two years later an army of Germans and Hungarians, partly equipped at the expense of Pope Clement VII, saved the Northwest of Hungary from Turkish domination.

In 1535 Charles carried out a successful expedition against the *Mohammedans in Tunis* and freed 20,000 Christian captives.

This victory brought on another war between *Francis I and the emperor.* Francis even entered into an alliance with Soleyman. Combined French and Turkish ships preyed upon the commerce of Christians in the Mediterranean. In the French wars, the emperor held his own quite well against all aggressions.

366. The Rebellion of the Protestant Princes. — A number of Lutheran princes of the empire formed an alliance for the purpose of promoting Protestantism and preventing the Catholics from regaining the ecclesiastical possessions which the Protestants had seized by various methods of fraud and force. When the emperor ordered them to dissolve the revolutionary league, they refused, but were signally defeated. Maurice, Duke of Saxony, though a Lutheran, had sided with the emperor, and as a reward was made Elector. To regain his lost prestige among the Protestants he dastardly turned against the unsuspecting emperor, and began a series of horrible depredations against Catholic territories. The emperor, completely unprepared, barely escaped captivity.

Broken and discouraged Charles V concluded with the Protestants the "*Religious Peace of Augsburg,*" 1555. This agreement established the principle, *Cujus Regio, Illius Religio*

Possessions of the Venetians
House of Austria
Swedish Possessions
EUROPE
UNDER
CHARLES THE FIFTH
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
NORWAY
SWEDEN
Finland
RUSSIA
DENMARK
LIVONIA
Moscow
Elbe R.
Prussia
POLAND
Warsaw
Kief
Krakow
Dneiper R.
KHANATE OF CRIM
Volga R.
KHANATE OF ASTRAKAN
Tartars
NETHERLANDS
THE EMPIRE
(GERMANY)
FRANCHE COMTE
SWITZERLAND
FRANCE
Vienna
HUNGARY
TRANSYLVANIA
CRIMEA
Circassians
SAVOY
MILAN
GENOA
TUSCANY
PAPAL STATES
NAPLES
NAVARRE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
Danube R.
BLACK SEA
GEORGIA
TURKISH EMPIRE
PERSIAN EMPIRE
SARDINIA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
SICILY
TUNIS
20
10
0
10
20
30
40
50
60
50
40
30

(whose is the country, his is the religion), that is, the prince determines what religion the subjects are to profess; and if they refuse to do so they must emigrate. Of course this principle might be applied and was actually resorted to by Catholic princes as well. It was another strengthening of autocracy.

To secure the aid of the French king for his purpose, Maurice the rebel had entered into an alliance with him and played the three German cities of Metz, Toul, and Verdun into his hands. This was the first beginning of the conquest of Alsace and Lorraine by France (§ 412, 2).

367. Charles V's Successors. — A year after the Peace of Augsburg Charles V abdicated his dignities both as emperor and as King of Spain. His brother Ferdinand, who had already been chosen King of the Romans (§ 312), followed him as Emperor (Elect) and possessor of the Austrian dominions. His son Philip II became King of Spain and its dependencies which included the Netherlands, Milan, and Naples. Charles withdrew to a Spanish monastery, where he devoted his time to works of piety and study. He died in 1558.

Supported by the claims of his wife, Ferdinand had been elected hereditary king by the Hungarians after the Bohemians had chosen him to the same position in their own country. He thus became the founder of the power of Austria.

By this division of the Hapsburg possessions, there were established two branches of the family, the Austrian line beginning with Ferdinand, and the Spanish line beginning with Philip. (See § 359, note.)

The religious troubles had enormously increased the weakness of Germany. Hence the French kings turned their aggressiveness from Italy to their northeastern neighbor. Here neither Alps nor Pyrenees stood in the way, while domestic dissensions and the lack of a strong central power furnished many opportunities for conquest. For the next hundred years we find the French kings nearly always in alliance with the Protestant German princes against the Catholic emperor.[1]

C. Further Extension of Protestantism

368. Ulric Zwingli, a priest in *Switzerland*, started a similar "reformation" in his own country, in 1519, two years after

[1] Guggenberger, II, §§ 215–235. See also "The Dutch Pope," in Casartelli's *Sketches in History*.

Luther. He, too, rejected the authority of pope and bishops, the celibacy of the priests, the religious vows, the necessity of good works. The usual plundering of monasteries and confiscation of Church property followed and was one of the motives that induced several cantons to accept the innovation. Others, however, the three original "Forest Cantons" (§ 314) among them, remained faithful to the Catholic Church. Like their German brethren the Swiss reformers were soon at war with their Catholic fellow citizens. Zwingli himself fell in one of the civil strifes (1531). There was a deadly hatred between Zwingli and Luther, because the former took the liberty of explaining Holy Scripture in a different way. Zwinglianism was subsequently merged into Calvinism.

369. John Calvin, a Frenchman, entered upon his public career as heretic in 1534. The most characteristic doctrine of his system is that every man has been predestined beforehand by God to either Heaven or hell, so that it is not in his power to change his final fate. Calvin gave to his "church" a strictly democratic mode of government. There are no bishops; the highest officials are the priests or rather ministers elected by the congregation. Hence the name of *Presbyterianism* from *Presbyter*, priest.

Calvinism spread through parts of France, Germany, Holland, and to Scotland. From the latter country it came to England under the name of *Puritanism*, so called from its tendency to "purify" the divine service of every trace of the old Roman rites. But its real home is the city of *Geneva*, now belonging to Switzerland. Here Calvin himself ruled with Draconic severity. The churches were stripped of altars, pictures, statues, and every kind of ornamentation. The most rigorous laws regulated the minutest details in the life of the people. The whole city rose at four o'clock. Recreations were severely restricted. A dressmaker was put in jail for three days for making the dress of a bride too beautiful. Within four years there were more than 800 cases of imprisonment, 76 decrees of exile, and 58 executions among the 15,000 inhabitants. A Spanish physician, Servetus, who denied the Blessed Trinity, happened to come to Geneva. He was arrested, found guilty

of heresy, and burned at the stake [1] — with the approval of the authorities of the Swiss and German Protestants. Calvin kept himself in power by the assistance of the numerous foreigners who went to Geneva to study theology under him, and who all became citizens directly upon their arrival. (See Guggenberger, II, 211–213.)

Calvinism is the most aggressive and intolerant of the new "religions." None tends more relentlessly toward complete civic control and political influence.

370. Protestantism in Other Countries of the Continent. *The Land of the Teutonic Order* (§ 321). — Albrecht of Brandenburg-Ansbach, a relative of the Hohenzollerns of Brandenburg (§ 333, note), had become Grand-Master of the Order. Like his predecessors he tried to rid himself of Polish sovereignty. But left without assistance by the disunited empire, he at last forsook his religious vows. With the consent of the Polish king he changed East-Prussia into a secular vassal state of Poland, and forcibly introduced Lutheranism. Those of the Knights who remained faithful to their religion withdrew to their possessions in central Germany, where the Order existed until 1803.

The family of "Duke" Albrecht died out with his own children. But he had made an agreement with the Hohenzollern Electors of Brandenburg that in this eventuality the dukedom of (East-) Prussia should be united with the Electorate of Brandenburg. The annexation, which made (East-) Prussia a province of Brandenburg, took place in 1618.

Livonia, the northeastern part of the Order's dominions, preserved the Catholic religion some thirty years longer. Then

[1] Servetus was an investigator of rare ability. He had discovered the circulation of the blood. It was a misfortune for him and for the science of medicine, that he did not refrain from dabbling in theology. His theory was embodied in the theological work which cost him his life, and of which only two copies survived him. The important discovery was made again fifty years later by the English physician Harvey. See Walsh, *The Century of Columbus*, pp. 369, 370.

its " Army-Master " took the same step as Albrecht of Prussia, and the land became a Polish fief. Later on the Swedes and finally the Russians occupied Livonia (§ 490).

In *Poland* the spread of Protestantism was pretty well checked, though its few adherents obtained bare toleration. *Transylvania,* a vassal state of Hungary, became entirely Lutheran. In *Hungary* the Calvinists grew so numerous that they could successfully demand freedom of public worship. But the country as such remained Catholic.

In *Sweden* Gustavus Wasa, justly admired as the hero of Swedish liberty (§ 322), turned traitor to his better self and by all manner of deceit and violence forced Lutheranism upon the country. In *Denmark* and *Norway,* the new religion was introduced by the same means. Everywhere the change of religion brought with it a considerable diminution of popular liberty. The Republic of Iceland (§ 102) lost both liberty and religion and became a Danish province.[1]

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[1] Guggenberger, II, §§ 209, 210.

CHAPTER XXII

THE BRITISH ISLES DURING THE REFORMATION PERIOD

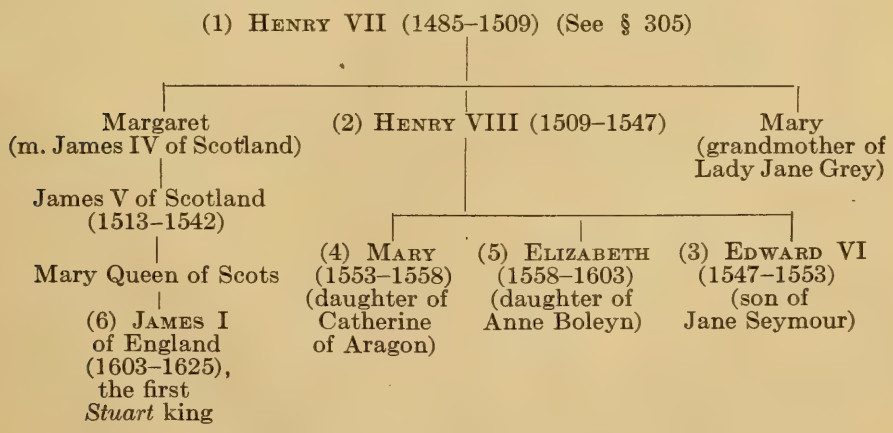
A. England

I. HENRY VIII AND EDWARD VI (1509–1547–1553)

371. Henry VIII's Revolt from the Church. — In Germany the Protestant Reformation was chiefly the work of the princes. But great religious abuses and still more serious economic evils had prepared the way for it. This is much less the case in England. The setting up of a separate English "Church" is the achievement of one man, King Henry VIII, the second of the Tudor kings.[1]

Henry VIII was married to Catherine of Aragon, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella (§ 318) and aunt of Charles V. She had, however, been the wife of Henry's deceased brother Arthur. There is an ecclesiastical impediment against the marriage with

[1] The following table of Tudor rulers (§ 300) shows also the claim of the first ruler of the next royal family.


(1) Henry VII (1485–1509) (See § 305)
Margaret (m. James IV of Scotland)
James V of Scotland (1513–1542)
Mary Queen of Scots
(6) James I of England (1603–1625), the first Stuart king
(2) Henry VIII (1509–1547)
Mary (grandmother of Lady Jane Grey)
(4) Mary (1553–1558) (daughter of Catherine of Aragon)
(5) Elizabeth (1558–1603) (daughter of Anne Boleyn)
(3) Edward VI (1547–1553) (son of Jane Seymour)

a brother's widow. But in Henry's case this impediment had been removed by papal dispensation. The union was blessed with five children, all of whom died in their infancy except the Princess Mary.

When the Lutheran revolution broke out in Germany, Henry VIII opposed it with might and main, and had the English laws against heretics carried out in full severity. He even wrote a Latin book against Luther in defense of the Seven Sacraments. For this work Pope Leo X gave him the title of " Defensor Fidei " (Defender of the Faith), which, strange to say, the present kings of England still retain.

372. Apostasy. — But the king became the slave of a low passion for another woman, Anne Boleyn. Soon he feigned scruples of conscience concerning his marriage with Catherine, and began to think of a separation from her. He knew that there is a law in the Church which withdraws all marriage questions of rulers from the Jurisdiction of the bishops and reserves them exclusively to the Sovereign Pontiff. So he tried all the means in his power to obtain from the pope a declaration of the nullity of his union with Catherine. But in vain. All the pope ever granted was the appointment of a commission to investigate the case in England. Cardinal Wolsey, the king's favorite, was made a member of it. But this effort, too, came to naught. In great rage Henry VIII dismissed Cardinal Wolsey from his service and was on the point of having him executed for treason, when, happily, the humiliated prelate died of grief. All hope of obtaining satisfaction from Rome had to be given up.

The king now resolved to throw off allegiance to the pope. He required the English bishops to recognize him as the head of the Church in England, which they did, in the face of his threats, though not without a weak protest. At this juncture Warham, the Archbishop of Canterbury, died, and Henry intruded into the primatial see one of his creatures, Thomas Cranmer, who had imbibed Lutheran heresies in Germany and was secretly married to a niece of one of the German reformers. Without the

slightest hesitation Cranmer granted the desired divorce. Henry VIII at once banished Catherine and Princess Mary from his court, married Anne Boleyn, and had her crowned with unusual solemnity. In **1534** a servile parliament passed the "Act of Supremacy," which declared that "*the king our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken and accepted and reputed the only supreme head on earth of the Church of England, called Anglicana Ecclesia.*"

Was there in England, asks a Protestant writer, any general dislike of the jurisdiction of Rome in Church matters? and his answer is: "I fail to see any evidence of such a feeling in the copious correspondence of the twenty years preceding. . . . Moreover, if any such general desire for the abolition of his (the pope's) authority existed, I cannot, for my part, understand why there never was any attempt to throw off papal jurisdiction before the days of Henry VIII." (Gairdner, *Lollardy and the Reformation in England*, Vol. I, p. 4.)

373. It should be noted that Henry VIII did not make England Lutheran or Calvinistic. — Catholic dogma remained practically intact — with the exception of the dogma of the Roman Primacy. Mass continued to be said; the seven sacraments were administered; clerical celibacy was not abolished; the services in the churches were held with the same ceremonies. A visit of Protestant divines from Germany, arranged for by Cranmer for the purpose of injecting some more advanced ideas into the English Church, was a complete failure. The archbishop was obliged to repress his Lutheran propensities until the death of this king.[1]

[1] The antics gone through with the Bible are amusing. Before his apostasy the king prohibited the use of an English translation of the New Testament by Tyndall, which was full of glaring errors. In 1537, that is, three years after his revolt, an English edition of Holy Writ containing this same New Testament was officially introduced and ordered to be placed publicly in all the parish churches and made accessible to everybody. In 1543 a royal decree withdrew this Bible and prescribed a new one in its stead. But henceforward the Word of God was not to be read in public by any laymen; all persons of nobility, however, might peruse it privately and read it to their families. Of the lower classes the householders only were allowed to peruse it privately, while their wives, children, and employees must neither read nor hear it under pain of a month's imprisonment for each offense. "The King's Book," a volume of popular instruction, now replaced the Bible for the bulk of the nation.

374. Persecutions. — The new "pope" of England brooked no resistance. Most of the bishops and prominent laymen took the prescribed Oath of Supremacy. But the number of those who had the courage of their conviction was great. Several hundred friars and monks were either executed or banished or died in foul dungeons. The most illustrious victims of Henry's wrath were *John Fisher*, Bishop of Rochester, and *Thomas More*, Chancellor of England, both renowned as accomplished scholars far beyond the boundaries of their country. While imprisoned in the Tower Bishop Fisher was made cardinal by the pope, whereupon the king cynically remarked, "The pope may send him the Red Hat, but I shall take care that there will be no head to put it on."

Sir Thomas More. — After a portrait painted by Holbein, copied by Rubens. (§ 343.)

375. The Dissolution of the Monasteries. — England was covered with hundreds of abbeys and other monastic institutions, many of which had grown very rich. The king and his greedy partisans among the nobility coveted all these possessions. But a pretext had to be found. So a commission was sent out to examine into the spiritual condition of the monasteries. It

reported that in *the smaller houses*, which had less than two hundred pounds revenue a year, monastic discipline lay prostrate, while "in the honorable and solemn monasteries of this realm . . . religion is right well kept and observed." The reports were woefully garbled or, as some maintain, simply forged. Parliament, though, on the whole, servile to the royal will, at first recoiled from giving its consent to so unheard-of a scheme of robbery. But it was frightened by threats, and after some hesitation passed the bill, which granted to the king all the estates and movable property of some 270 houses.

This robbery roused the people in the northern counties. They banded together and marched upon London. They were armed but committed no excesses. Wherever they came they restored the monasteries to the former owners. They did not mean to rebel, but hoped by this armed demonstration, which they called the "Pilgrimage of Grace," to change the mind of the king. By promises and double dealing Henry VIII prevailed on them to return to their homes. When they saw that no promises were kept, revolts broke out in some places. Now the king sent an armed force with orders to cause "a dreadful execution to be done upon a good number of inhabitants of every town, village and hamlet, . . . as well by the hanging of them up in the trees as by quartering them. . . . You shall also without pity or circumstance . . . cause all the monks and canons that be in any wise faulty to be tied up without further delay or ceremony."

376. The Pilgrimage of Grace furnished a welcome plea for *the suppression of the large monasteries*. This work of destruction began without any previous decree of parliament. Upon the most flimsy charges, by threats and manufactured evidence, the heads of the houses were either carried to prison and executed, or forced to surrender their possessions "voluntarily." Later on it was thought desirable to secure an act of parliament, which in due formality transferred to the king all the movable and immovable property of these and all similar institutions, including the sacred vessels and vestments of their churches. Several hundred *hospitals* went into the bar-

gain without any provision being made for the numerous indigent patients. The schools connected with the convents disappeared. Finally came the *destruction of the shrines* of Saints in all the churches. The tombs of Sts. Augustine and Thomas à Becket and even that of Alfred the Great were not spared. (§§ 112, 115, 169.) Whole *libraries* consisting of priceless manuscripts were disposed of to grocers and soapsellers. The estates were sold, or donated to noblemen and other royal favorites and parasites.

"The noble buildings (of the abbeys), raised in the view of lasting for countless ages, must not be suffered to stand. In most instances gunpowder was resorted to, and thus, in a few hours, the most magnificent structures, which it had required ages to bring to perfection, were made heaps of ruins. The whole country was thus disfigured; it had the appearance of a land recently invaded by the most brutal barbarians." (Extracts from Wm. Cobbett (Prot.), *History of the Protestant Reformation*, §§ 181, 182.)

377. Economic Consequences of the Suppression of the Monasteries.—It should be stated right here that Henry VIII's successor, Edward VI, completed the work of destruction by sweeping away all charitable institutions which had survived his father, and at the same time confiscating the property of some 30,000 *gilds* (§ 258) which in great part served for the encouragement of thrift and for mutual assistance.

The rural population was already suffering under the effects of a change in agricultural methods. The rich landlords saw fit to betake themselves in larger measure to sheep-raising, because they could sell the wool at high prices in Flanders. Hence fruit-fields were changed into meadows, and with the fields disappeared the cultivators. Whole villages were razed to the ground; and large numbers of peasants lost their homes and occupations.

But it was the destruction of the monastic institutions that struck the heaviest blow at the happiness of a considerable part

of the rural population. The monks had been easy landlords. They had acted at the same time as the protectors and supporters of the indigent. The new owners were vastly different men, bound to the tenants by no ties of conscience or tradition. Rackrents replaced the fair terms, and drove many tenants away from holdings where their forefathers had lived contentedly for centuries. In many cases tenants were no longer wanted. It is estimated that by the suppression of the monasteries about a hundred thousand persons lost their means of livelihood, not counting the monks and nuns themselves, who were now poorer than their former dependents.

"A multitude of able-bodied men were consequently without employment or property; and the law treated them without discrimination as rogues and vagabonds. Indeed the laws against vagrancy were sharpened in this iron age, and a second or third lapse into vagrancy was punished from 1536 onward with a felon's death." [1] (Charles S. Devas, *Political Economy*, p. 537.)

With the monasteries ended also their splendid patronage of poor *students*. The destruction of the convent schools and the general decline of prosperity among the lower classes made it almost impossible for the less wealthy parents to give their sons the education preparatory to university studies. The number of university students dwindled down, though it is a surprise for us to hear even from a Protestant bishop, Latimer, that in 1550 the students in these abodes of learning numbered less by 20,000 than in 1530.

"*Viewed merely from its social aspect,*" says Cardinal Gasquet, "*the English Reformation is the rising of the rich against the poor.*" (In Preface to Cobbett's *History of the Reformation.*)

[1] It was at any rate a progress, if under later reigns the numerous poor were no longer treated as criminals. Under Elizabeth (§§ 385 ff.) the so-called *poor-laws* began to be passed, which obliged the municipalities to support the impotent poor and find work for the able-bodied. These laws, however, well-nigh made the poor the slaves of the civil community and placed them in a separate and despised class as "paupers." England had no poor-laws as long as the monasteries existed.

378. The Wives and Children of Henry VIII. — After his "divorce" from Catherine of Aragon, Henry lived fourteen years, during which time he married five "wives." Anne Boleyn gave him a daughter, Elizabeth, later queen, but soon fell under suspicion and was beheaded; Cranmer now declared that she had never been Henry's wife. The day after her execution the king married her maid of honor, Jane Seymour, who died the following year in giving birth to a son, the later King Edward. The next wife, Anne of Cleves, was divorced and parted without a quarrel. The same year Catherine Howard became the king's consort, but died two years later on the scaffold. Catherine Parr, the sixth "queen," had the good luck to survive her husband.

A law of succession secured the crown first to Edward, and should he die without children, then to Mary, and finally to Elizabeth.

379. ***Edward VI*** **(1547–1553)** came to the throne as a child of ten years. The men who constituted the Regency favored a more thoroughgoing "reformation." Archbishop Cranmer saw his chance and knew how to utilize it. The property of the *gilds* (§ 377) and of other charitable institutions was swept into the royal treasury or the coffers of the ruling party. The Anglican "creed" was radically changed. The sacrifice of the Mass, the belief in the real presence of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament, purgatory, the veneration of the Saints, ceremonies, vows, the celibacy of priests, were rejected. As a consequence, altars, sacred vestments and vessels, the statues and pictures of the churches, were now destroyed or confiscated. A commission under the presidency of Cranmer compiled the *Book of Common Prayer* in English. It takes the place of our missals and similar books. It received its finishing touches under Elizabeth.

II. MARY THE CATHOLIC

380. Mary the Catholic (1553–1558) [1] considered it the task of her life to reëstablish in England the religion of her forefathers. England was still overwhelmingly Catholic. A great

[1] In spite of the rule of succession made by Henry VIII with the consent of parliament a strong Protestant party tried to raise the young Jane Grey,

obstacle to a Catholic restoration was found in the fact that the immense ecclesiastical property could not be demanded back from the present possessors without causing a widespread confusion, because many parcels of this property had changed hands repeatedly. Not to disturb the state of the country, the pope, making use of his power as supreme administrator of all possessions of the Church, dispensed all the owners from the duty of restitution. *England was solemnly reunited with the Catholic world.*

Mary began to encourage again the *studies in the national universities,* and her noble example evoked the liberality of several rich men, who established "colleges" in these institutions. To her is due the first commercial *treaty between England and Russia,* and the suppression of the privileges of the *Hansa Towns* (§ 261). Both these measures gave a great stimulus to English commerce. She was, besides, the first English ruler that emphasized the duty of judges to admit *evidence against the crown* in lawsuits, and to decide against a royal suitor if justice required it. Almost immediately upon her accession she restored the *currency,* which had been greatly depreciated under her father, to its original value, and remitted an extra tax which the late parliament had granted to the crown.

381. The Spanish Marriage. — When it became known that the queen had resolved to marry Philip, the son of Emperor Charles V, who was to succeed his father as King of Spain, there arose a strong and noisy opposition. This opposition was to a certain extent national; but to a great extent, too, it was the work of French emissaries who wished to create trouble for the queen, and of the English Protestants who feared for their

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a distant relative of the royal family, to the throne. But by a bold appeal to all loyal Englishmen Mary foiled the attempt. When poor Jane Grey was used a second time for the pretext of a revolt, she had to die with the real instigators. (See § 371, note.)

threatened religion. Mary, however, obtained the consent of parliament. The marriage contract provided that the government of England should remain vested in the queen alone; that no offices be given to foreigners; and that the issue of this union should inherit the Netherlands. No settlement for the marriage of any member of the English Royal family had ever been so exclusively favorable to England.[1]

382. The Persecution of Heretics. — Although the bulk of the nation was Catholic, Mary thought it her duty to hasten the religious unification of England by proceeding with greater vigor against the heretics. This is decried by many as a blot upon her otherwise kind and lovable character. But she simply did what her advisers suggested, what the spirit of the times approved, and what had been practiced with the utmost severity by her predecessors in the opposite direction. In fact she introduced nothing new. A committee of English bishops tried the cases of heresy and surrendered obstinate transgressors to the " secular arm " to be dealt with according to English secular laws. But before this last step was taken, all the means of persuasion and kindness had been exhausted.

About 280 persons were executed in this way during Mary's reign. A Protestant writer, however, calls attention to the fact that in those times heresy and rebellion were almost convertible terms. Many of the victims had been implicated several times in risings or seditious attempts against the queen. Another Protestant historian says: " Mary and her advisers honestly believed themselves to be applying the only remedy for the removal of a mortal disease from the body politic. What they did was on an unprecedented scale in England, because heresy existed on an unprecedented scale." (Innes, *England under the Tudors.* Quoted from *Cath. Enc.*) Moreover, in the one winter of 1569 nearly three times as many Catholics were executed under Elizabeth, as Protestants during the whole reign of Mary — not to speak of the butcheries ordered by Henry VIII after the Pilgrimage of Grace (§ 376).

[1] On this matrimonial contract see Cobbett, *History of the Protestant Reformation*, §§ 239–244.

383. The Five Years of Mary's Reign Were Full of Sorrows. — Failure of crops caused great hardships and exerted a paralyzing influence upon industry and commerce. There was a terrible pestilence in her last year. Though there were causes enough for a war with France,[1] it was Mary's union with Philip that brought on a clash with that country. In this war, the city of *Calais*, the last English possession on the continent, fell into the hands of the French. The loss of Calais was a very hard blow for the queen. "The word Calais," she said, "will be found written in my heart." It furnished her enemies with a welcome weapon to undermine her popularity. The protracted absence of her husband aggravated her long-standing illness. One of her severest trials was a misunderstanding with Pope Paul IV, who favored the French cause in the war.

384. Her Character. — Queen Mary the Catholic was a model Christian, sincerely pious, very charitable, ready to make any sacrifice for her religion and her country. She certainly took no step without the conviction that it was either demanded or at least permitted by the law of God, and that it would be beneficial to her country. Her marriage with Philip is often deemed a political mistake. But a just verdict is difficult. It is highly probable that, had her reign lasted several decades, she would have succeeded in giving to her beloved country peace and prosperity together with the blessings of the true religion.[2]

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[1] Secret agitation was ever increasing during her short reign. Defamatory libels against king and queen, printed on the continent, were found in the streets, in the palace, and in both houses of parliament; and reports were circulated that Mary, hopeless of issue, had determined to settle the crown on her husband after her decease. It was chiefly the French minister to England that was responsible for this incrimination. It led to a desperate attempt — the second — to place Elizabeth on the throne. (Lingard, Vol. V, pp. 496 ff.)

[2] As a result of systematic slandering carried on during the reign of her successors, Mary has been stigmatized as the "Bloody Mary." The injustice of this epithet is now generally recognized. One of the worst instruments of slander was the lying *Book of Martyrs* by John Foxe, which

III. ELIZABETH

385. Elizabeth (1558–1603) and Religion. — Elizabeth was crowned with the usual Catholic ceremonies and took the solemn oath to maintain the Catholic religion. But she immediately began undoing the work of Queen Mary. She had the Act of Supremacy repassed by parliament and reintroduced the Book of Common Prayer in a somewhat revised edition.[1] As a standard of Anglican orthodoxy *The Thirty-Nine Articles* were drawn up. Assistance, on certain days, at the Anglican services was enjoined under pain of exorbitant fines. Another law extended the obligation of taking the Oath of Supremacy much wider than it had been under Edward VI, and made the refusal punishable as an act of treason.

386. Persecution. — Had not the reign of Mary the Catholic given the Church a respite to recover new strength, it is not improbable that the *fierce persecution* which now broke upon the adherents of the old religion would have wiped out Catholicism altogether. But the bishops appointed under Mary refused to submit to Elizabeth. They were removed from their sees and most of them died in prison. The worst consequence of the persecution was the dearth of priests. The campaign of slander against everything Catholic discredited the ancient institutions in the eyes of the rising generation. The heavy fines reduced numerous prominent families to beggary and resulted in lowering the social standing of the Catholic body.

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pretended to give authentic reports of the non-Catholics executed under Mary. See Miss J. M. Stone's *Studies from Court and Cloister*, pp. 272–276.

[1] With the Book of Common Prayer was introduced again the "Ordinal" of Edward VI, which prescribes the Anglican mode of ordaining priests and consecrating bishops. In it the Catholic ceremonies have been so curtailed and altered as to exclude most carefully the idea of real priesthood. Consequently the Anglican bishops, all of whom were consecrated according to this book, cannot claim the true power of Christian bishops and successors of the Apostles; and, furthermore, the Anglican clergymen are no priests. For references on Anglican Ordinations see footnote on next page. On the rise of *Puritanism* see § 420.

An unrelenting war of half a century was thus waged against the Church. Yet even at the end of this frightful period one third of the population still clung to the Faith which St. Augustine had brought to England (§ 112).

Priests and all those who had given them hospitality were subject to the indescribably cruel punishment inflicted for treason. Among those whose execution attracted the widest attention was Father Edmund Campion, before his conversion to the Catholic Faith one of the most renowned university men of England. The queen herself had in person made an attempt to win him back to the Anglican creed. The Catholics of means suffered not only by imprisonment and fines but also by endless domiciliary visits. On such occasions a sheriff at the head of an eager crowd broke into the house, generally by night. Every bed and box and cupboard was searched, the stored provisions scattered about, the wainscoting and floors torn up, and holes made in the walls, to discover priests or their hiding places or at least some sign of their presence. Unspeakable personal insults commonly accompanied this work of destruction. The trial was always for treason. But everybody knew that denial of the Catholic Faith would immediately evoke a liberating sentence.

The most distinguished lay person that suffered death under Elizabeth was *Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots*. Her execution struck a fatal blow at the prospects of the old religion in both countries (§ 394).[1]

387. Elizabeth's Character. — Elizabeth was one of the most talented women of her time and had received a brilliant education. She spoke several languages and read with ease Latin and Greek. Like all great rulers she knew how to surround herself with able and devoted men and to profit by their advice. She was at the same time a shrewd observer of circumstances and a

[1] Special Reports: Cardinal Allen and the foundation of English Catholic Colleges on the continent. See Conway, *Studies in Church History*. On Pope Leo XIII's decision concerning Anglican ordinations, see "Anglican Ordinations" in *Cath. Encyclopedia*, or *Cath. Dictionary;* or the booklet, *Anglican Ordinations; Theology of Rome and of Canterbury in a Nutshell*, by H. C. Semple, S.J.

keen judge of men. But her private life was dissolute and her court a hotbed of frivolity. She was essentially selfish and sought the glory of England for her own personal glory. The feelings of true friendship or chaste womanly attachment she either never possessed or lost very early in her reign. Her speech was always sprinkled with oaths, and when opposed she was liable to utter the most terrible imprecations. To her a lie was simply an intellectual means of avoiding a difficulty. Vanity was perhaps her most prominent weakness. She yearned for praise, and even in her old age accepted as genuine the most absurd flatteries. Disgusting is the hypocrisy with which she flaunted her "virginity" in her speeches and proclamations, and expected to be extolled above all rulers of all ages.

388. Material Prosperity. — Elizabeth's administration was marked by great economy. The enormous fines wrung from the Catholics, the income drawn from licensed freebooting (§ 403), the monopolies which she sold, and the presents which she extorted from the nobility supplied her for the greater part of her reign with revenue and enabled her to forego more general forms of taxation. From motives of economy she avoided wars and preferred to obtain her ends by means of an unscrupulous diplomacy. The short victorious war with Spain (§ 404) only heightened the appreciation of the long peace. Peculiar circumstances caused the landowners to return from the practice of sheep raising (§ 377) to real agriculture; a change which gave work to an increased number of rural laborers. The Revolution of the Netherlands, besides, drove the commerce of the flourishing towns of Flanders over to England, which at this time began to be the mart of Europe. The immigration of Flemish weavers in England started an important branch of industry. The channels of commerce opened under Mary the Catholic (§ 380) were utilized and extended, and the beginning was made of the English trade with India. Thus Elizabeth's reign was, for the Protestant portion of the population, at least,

an age of growing prosperity, "the spacious days of great Elizabeth."

During these spacious days the movement of the Renaissance, which had been stifled in England since the beginning of the religious innovation, seemed to awaken. The latter part of Elizabeth's reign saw a brilliant period of discovery and literature. Harvey discovered afresh the way in which the blood circulates (§ 379 note), and so helped to lay the foundation for true study of medicine. *Francis Bacon* called the world's attention to the necessity for scientific observation and experiment. *Edmund Spenser* created a new form of English poetry in his *Faerie Queene*. And the splendor of the Elizabethan age found a climax in English drama, with *Shakspere* as the most resplendent star in a glorious galaxy that counted such other shining names as *Marlowe* and *Ben Jonson*.

389. Elizabeth's Popularity. — The queen industriously catered to the love of the lower classes which made up the bulk of the population. She kept her courtiers and the nobility in slavish subjection. The ceremonial in her palaces would have met with the approval of any Oriental despot. Only with innumerable genuflections were her servants allowed to approach her adorable person. But on the many pompous progresses through the country, which gratified her vanity and caught the public fancy, she gave unlimited access to the common people, listened to their complaints and chatted with them familiarly. The people did not see the vices, the profligacy, and the intrigues of her court, nor the duplicity of her diplomatic transactions with other powers. All they noticed was the blessings of half a century of peace and other happy events associated with the time of her reign. These are the sources of the popularity which she enjoyed. It grieved her exceedingly when, in the very last years of her government, the usual enthusiastic acclamations which had always greeted her at her appearance in public were no longer heard.

B. Ireland in the Reformation Period

390. Henry VIII resolved to make the nominal rule of England (§ 306) more real. He assumed the more pretentious title of "King of Ireland" instead of Lord of Ireland. For the first time Irish chiefs participated in the Irish parliament, in which, so far, only the noblemen of the Pale had been represented. This parliament passed an Act of Supremacy and declared the dissolution of 400 Irish abbeys. The property of the latter "was confiscated to the king and his courtiers, or used as a corruption fund to bribe greedy chiefs into submission." But many of the chiefs who were present may not have fully understood what the whole matter meant, because they did not know a word of English. The measure had little effect upon the religious life of the country. The people remained in communion with their clergy and these were faithful to Rome. Under Mary the Catholic, of course, the religious issue disappeared, to come up the more fiercely under Elizabeth. From now on the Irishman strove to save not only his nationality, but above all the religion which had ever been Ireland's glory.

391. Insurrections and Their Suppression. — The mighty family of the Fitzgeralds had revolted against England's rule under Henry VIII. By trusting English promises six of the prominent members of the family allowed themselves to be seized, and ended their lives upon the scaffold. During the reign of Elizabeth three more insurrections followed under Shane O'Neill, Hugh O'Neill, Hugh Roe O'Donnell, James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald, and others. In spite of the most admirable bravery and some brilliant successes these insurrections ended disastrously, largely through lack of unity among the Irish leaders. *A few years after Elizabeth's death the principal chiefs, despairing of Ireland's future, fled to the continent, to return should prospects become more favorable.*

IRELAND
— — — Approximate boundary of the PALE in 1500.
— — — — Western and Southern boundary of the "Ulsterite" counties.
10
9
8
7
6
55
54
53
52
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ULSTER
CONNAUGHT
LEINSTER
MUNSTER
IRISH SEA
ST. GEORGE'S CHANNEL
Londonderry
Antrim
Donegal
Lough Neagh
Bangor
Belfast
L. Erne
Enniskillen
Downpatrick
Armagh
Newry
Sligo
Ballina
Ballymote
Dundalk
Achill
Castlebar
Kells
Drogheda
Trim
Tara
Roscommon
Clonard
Athlone
Maynooth
Dublin
Lough Corrib
Galway
Clomnacnoise
Kildare
Glendalough
Wicklow
Shannon R.
Boyne R.
Barrow R.
CLARE CO.
Ennis
Arklow
Limerick
Cashel
Kilkenny
Tipperary
Wexford
Dingle
Killarney
Blackwater R.
Waterford
Blarney
Queenstown
Cork
Kinsale
Bantry

392. The Plantations. — Under Henry VIII a new form of occupation had been inaugurated: the plantations. When an Irish chief had rebelled, all the land belonging to his clan — though commonly not more than one tenth of the clan had taken any part in the rising — was declared forfeit to the crown and allotted to English "undertakers" who engaged to "plant" it with English or Scottish settlers. But the Irish holders did not give up their homes good-naturedly. Hence a warfare of destruction ensued. The invaders with the help of English soldiery sought not merely to drive the owners of the soil away but to exterminate them with their whole kin, and they employed all the means which the most unbridled brutality could suggest. History does not record deeds more atrocious than those perpetrated on thousands of unoffending Irish people during the next century and a half. The barbarities provoked risings, the risings were punished with plantations, and these led to new and more horrible cruelties. This savagery became the general character of all the English wars against the Irish. It goes without saying that under such provocation the natives often retaliated by similar outrages.

The plantation system was resorted to by all the Tudors, chiefly by Elizabeth. But it assumed the largest proportions in the plantations under Oliver Cromwell (§ 450). The flight of the earls (§ 391) furnished the pretext for the confiscation of half a million acres of the best land in Ulster. A great part of it went to Scotch Presbyterians.[1]

The question may rightly be asked, how it was possible that the whole race did not perish in such a flood of devastation. But very frequently the "undertakers" failed to obtain a sufficient number of non-Irish settlers. Most of those who actually took up land were not inclined to work with their own hands but wanted to "get rich quick" by the labor of others. Hence the Irish were retained as tenants. Moreover the English officials were by no means impervious to bribes. As a

[1] See Guggenberger, II, § 521, or histories of Ireland, for more details.

matter of fact the Irish everywhere, except, perhaps, in some parts of Ulster, by far outnumbered the English and Scots.

The plantations account for the presence in Ireland of numerous *Protestants*, though the native population, the descendants of the original Celts as well as of the Anglo-Irish, remained Catholic to the core. The plantations, too, established the abominable system of *Absentee Landlordism*, as the new "owners" of vast tracts of Irish lands commonly did not live in Ireland. The money which their agents wrung from their starving Irish tenants was spent in England or on the continent.

C. The Reformation in Scotland

393. Introduction of the New Faith. — The kings of Scotland were of the royal *family of the Stuarts*. James IV had married Margaret, daughter of Henry Tudor (§ 300 and note to § 371) of England. Under their son, James V (1513–1542), Lutheran doctrines began to spread in the country. They found favor with a part of the nobility, which, as in other lands, was hankering after the possessions of the Church. To weaken Scotland and prepare her for annexation Henry VIII gave every kind of encouragement to the heretical party.

"The Scottish reformation unquestionably took rise in highly treasonable intercourse with a foreign power that played on Scottish greed. The principles of the English reformation flowed into the neighboring state on a stream of gold." (Power, S.J., *History of Religions*, "Presbyterianism," pp. 10, 11.)

For a long time both king and people, ably advised by the clergy under Cardinal Beaton, offered firm resistance. But after the death of James V and during the minority of his daughter Mary, who still lived in France, the influx of heretical ideas went on unchecked. The arch-promoter of the "reform" was *John Knox*, who had studied in Geneva under Calvin. Hence it is that Calvinism (Presbyterianism) became the most generally accepted form of Protestantism in Scotland. In 1560

a rebellious parliament declared the old religion abolished; and the confiscation of ecclesiastical property, the destruction of monasteries and of the ornaments of the churches, were commenced. But for years Mass continued to be said in the burnt and blackened ruins of the monasteries. Lack of priests caused the Catholic religion to die out in the realm as by starvation.

394. Mary Stuart, the heiress of the kingdom of Scotland, had been educated in France, where she married King Francis II. A year after the early death of her husband, the girl-widow of nineteen years returned to Scotland (1561) to mount the throne of her fathers. Her position was very precarious. Those whom she found in actual power were fierce Protestants, and the persecution of the Catholics, inaugurated the year before, was in full swing. With difficulty the queen maintained her right to have Catholic services undisturbed in her own chapel. John Knox thundered away against everything Catholic, and powerful nobles instigated revolution after revolution against their lawful sovereign. From a marriage with Lord Darnley, an ambitious nobleman, she had a child, the later King James. The mysterious murder of her husband helped to complicate matters for her. Her position grew desperate, and, in 1568, she resorted to the fatal step of fleeing into England and imploring the protection of Queen Elizabeth.

Lord Darnley proved a bad husband. He was unkind and brutal, a drunkard and profligate, and fond of low company. During a period of estrangement between him and Mary, the mighty earl of Bothwell had supported her with his political influence and his military power. After Darnley's death Bothwell was accused of being the instigator of the deed, but was acquitted by his peers — his accomplices in the crime it is said. A month later he seized the person of the queen, obtained a " divorce " from his wife, to whom he was legally married, and forced the queen to consent to a union with him. Notwithstanding the fact that violence was resorted to, this affair gave plausibility to the charge of complicity in her husband's murder. This matter is not sufficiently cleared up. However it may be, she abundantly atoned for her shortcomings by her heroic death and by the patience shown in long im-

prisonment.[1] But all serious historians grant that her virtue is above suspicion.

The Queen of England rejoiced. Mary Stuart, being the legitimate descendant of Henry VII, had a much better claim to the English crown than the daughter of Anne Boleyn. She would in any case be the next after Elizabeth on the English throne; and the Protestants dreaded a Catholic succession. Hence the fugitive queen saw herself treated as a captive, and was for nineteen years dragged from prison to prison. Several risings in her favor resulted only in aggravating her captivity. She was finally tried on the charge of having conspired for the murder of Elizabeth. The trial was a farce. Mary was denied the most elementary privileges which are otherwise granted to the worst criminal. No witness, no original document, was produced against her. But her condemnation had been resolved upon. *Mary Queen of Scots was beheaded, 1587, in the hall of the castle of Fotheringhay.*

The Earl of Kent, when announcing to her the hour of her execution, betrayed the real cause of her death. "Madam," he said, "your life would have been the death of our new religion, while your death — God grant it — will be its life."

395. The Church of Scotland. — While in the power of her enemies in Scotland, less than a year before her flight across the border, Mary Stuart had, under protest, resigned the crown in favor of her infant son, James, for whom a regency was

[1] The following facts will show in what kind of society the friendless queen found herself in her capital, Edinburgh. When her intention to marry Darnley became known, a number of prominent Protestant noblemen, headed by her own half-brother, entered into a conspiracy for the purpose of dethroning the queen. Not long after the marriage was concluded, the same men combined with Darnley for the murder of Rizzio, the queen's secretary. Practically the same persons hatched the plot which resulted in the death of Darnley. They next helped Bothwell to get the queen into his power, and after this marriage conspired against both the queen and Bothwell. All this happened in the space of less than three years (1565–1568).

appointed. There were, for years after, two parties at daggers drawn, the "King's men" and the "Queen's men." English influence helped to keep the country in a state of unrest. After James had become of age, the new "Church" — the *Kirk*, as it is often styled in Scotland — fared ill at his hands. The innovators were chiefly Calvinists, who hated bishops and prelates (§ 369). But James retained, or rather reintroduced, the episcopal system after the English pattern, because he saw in it a prop of the throne. His "bishops" were consecrated in England (§ 385, note). But true-blue Calvinism retained its hold upon the bulk of the Scotch Protestants. Not until 1688, that is, after the revolution against James II (§ 460), was "prelacy" definitely abolished in Scotland.

For Further Readings. — Guggenberger, II, §§ 267–269, 283–287, 379–388, 392–395.

Maxwell-Scott, *The Tragedy of Fotheringhay*, is a description, from original sources, of Queen Mary's prison life and execution. John Morris, S. J., *Mary Queen of Scots* (biography).

CHAPTER XXIII

FALSE AND TRUE REFORMATION

396. Character of Protestantism. — The period we treat of is called the Reformation. But we must remember that "Reformation" is a misnomer, perhaps the worst mankind has ever hit upon. It is based on the wrong supposition that the activity of Luther and the other innovators was a reform at all. It certainly was not. **It was a revolution pure and simple.** The so-called reformers did not insist upon the observance of the existing laws, but tried to subvert the authority which had given them. Under their hands, and as far as their power reached, the organization given by Christ to His Church (§ 20) disappeared. The beautiful system of the sacraments with their consoling and elevating influence no longer existed. No rays of sacredness shone around matrimony; it was declared a "worldly thing," and its bonds were no longer indissoluble. We know how matrimony fared under Henry VIII. Luther went a step farther by declaring that even polygamy was not prohibited to Christians. The "faith in Christ" was an easy means to obtain forgiveness of sins; confession with contrition and purpose of amendment did not trouble people any more. And why should they worry about good works? "Faith" made all Christians equal in sanctity anyhow.

397. No wonder that the **effects** of such a "gospel" were deplorable. The *economic* consequences we have seen in the case of England (§ 377). They were the same everywhere, though perhaps not so glaring. Let the great German reformers tell us about the *moral* results of the innovation.

"As soon as our gospel began," writes Luther, "decency and modesty were done away with, and everybody wished to be perfectly

free to do what he liked." "The people are like pigs, so to speak; dead and buried in constant drunkenness."[1] And one of his followers complains that "those who have received God's Word and the Gospel are lawless, insensible to instruction, hardened in their old sinful life, as is evident from the adultery, usury, avarice, lying, cheating, and manifold wickedness which prevails."[2]

398. The True Reformation. — Meanwhile the forces making for a true reformation were preparing to come to the front. About the middle of the sixteenth century popes with genuine zeal for the welfare of the Church promoted every endeavor of bishops and other able men for the betterment of clergy and laity. The greatest act in this reform work, however, was the *Council of Trent.* With several interruptions it lasted from 1545 to 1563. It was composed of nearly three hundred bishops.

The Council clearly defined all the doctrines which had been the object of so many attacks. Had the defenders of the Church been able, from the beginning of the Wittenberg troubles, to appeal to such precise and authoritative statements of Christian truth, they would no doubt have been more successful.

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[1] Happily the specific teachings of Protestantism, which made such sad conditions inevitable, did not always receive the attention they naturally attracted in the beginning. Lutherans of to-day, for instance, do not know the real Luther nor his real teachings. Luther himself, forgetful of his fundamental principles, wrote some popular books full of sound advice. After the first zeal for the new doctrines had spent itself and the heat of the combat subsided, common sense returned by way of fact to the old moral teachings of Christianity. Protestants who observe the commandments of God, Protestant families which never omit their common devotions, do not thereby show approval of the specific doctrines of Protestantism but bear testimony to the teachings and principles of the Catholic Church to which their ancestors have belonged. May the Good Shepherd keep all such good persons under his Divine Protection.

[2] Let the student find out which of the elements of civilization given to the world by Christianity were destroyed by Protestantism (§ 95). Compare also § 362. The religious confusion of these troublous times was one of the several causes of the appalling increase of *witchcraft trials.* Thousands of innocent persons, chiefly old women, suffered horrible tortures and death at the stake in Catholic as well as Protestant districts. Guggenberger, II, §§ 291, 292; also §§ 288, 289.

At the same time the Council enacted wise reform laws calculated to prevent the recurrence of the conditions set forth in § 346 ff. To secure a better education of the priests it prescribed the establishment of *clerical seminaries.*

A principal factor for reformation outside the Council was the revival of discipline in the older *religious Orders,* as far as it was needed, and the foundation of new ones. Among the latter are the *Capuchin Fathers,* who devoted themselves to the instruction of the faithful by means of missions; the *Ursuline Nuns,* founded for the education of girls; *the Piarists* for the education of boys. The most prominent of the new Orders, however, was the *Society of Jesus,* which owes its origin to St. Ignatius Loyola, a Spaniard.

Its purpose is work for the GREATER GLORY OF GOD in whatever place the Holy Father may see fit to employ its members. Practically, there are four purposes to which the Order has chiefly devoted its energies; namely, missions among the faithful in the Christian countries, missions for the conversion of pagans, the direction of spiritual retreats, and the education of the young in higher schools. Within a short time the Order grew into one of the greatest educational powers in the Catholic Church. Higher schools alone could supply the crying need for more laborers in the vineyard of the Lord.

One of the first members of the Order, *St. Francis Xavier,* opened new fields for the Church by his missionary labors in India and Japan. He died while attempting the Christianization of China, 1552. Thirty years later the Christians in *Japan* numbered about 200,000 and after another fifty years, it is claimed, nearly two millions. But two fierce persecutions, in which thousands suffered unheard-of torments for their Faith, destroyed, as it seemed for the time being, the flourishing young Church.[1]

Blessed *Peter Canisius,* the first German Jesuit, became the second apostle of his country. It was principally through his activity as preacher, writer, and founder of colleges, that the progress of Protestantism was checked, and that provinces already lost were regained for the Catholic religion.[2]

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[1] See "The Catholic Church in Japan" in Casartelli's *Sketches in History,* especially the touching story of the "Discovery of the Christians."

[2] There is an instructive chapter, "The Catholic Reformation in Germany," in J. M. Stone's *Studies from Court and Cloister.*

CHAPTER XXIV

THE PERIOD OF RELIGIOUS WARS

There were a number of bloody wars of long duration in Europe from the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century. These are called the Religious Wars; but hardly any of them fully deserves the name. With the people indeed religious motives were not lacking. Certainly in no war before or after, with the exception of the crusades, was so much emphasis laid upon the idea of defending the one religion or the other. The result of these wars, too, was of great religious consequence. Yet the prime movers as a rule were not animated by religious zeal. They rather used religion as a pretext for their attacks and as a means of rallying followers around their standards.

A. The Revolution of the Netherlands

399. The seventeen provinces of the Netherlands (§ 317) were one of the richest Spanish possessions. They were liberally governed. Each province had its own diet, and there was a kind of *common parliament, called the States General,* which enjoyed extensive powers. A Regent General represented the Spanish king. The connection with the empire was little more than in name.

The brisk commercial intercourse with foreign lands could not but result in an influx of *Lutheran ideas* from Germany and *Calvinistic errors* from France. Charles V as King of Spain had, with the consent of the States General, enacted some severe laws against religious innovations, and had introduced the Papal — not the Spanish — Inquisition. It is certain, too, that executions took place, though on the whole the religious laws do not seem to have been enforced very strictly. Religious difficulties alone could never have caused serious troubles.

THE NETHERLANDS
at the Truce of 1609
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80
The Seven United Provinces
The Provinces still Retained by Spain
NORTH SEA
EAST FRIESLAND
Emden
WEST FRIESLAND
GRONINGEN
Groningen
Jemmingen
Heiligerlee
R. Ems
Zuyder Zee
Enkhuisen
Alkmaar
Haarlem
Amsterdam
Leyden
Naarden
Deventer
The Hague
Utrecht
Zutphen
Delft
R. Rhine
Doesburg
Brill
Rotterdam
R. Waal
Nimwegen
Dort
Grave
D. OF CLEVE
Mook
SCHOUWEN
Zierickzee
Gertruydenberg
I. OF WALCHEREN
Middleburg
Breda
Flushing
Goes
Venloo
Sluys
Scheldt
Turnhout
Ostende
Hulst
Bruges
Antwerp
Neuss
Ghent
Dunkirk
Dendermonde
Mechlin
Gravelines
Ingelmunster
Cologne
Most
FLANDERS
Ypres
Brussels
Maastricht
R. Meuse
St. Trond
Waterloo
Ramillies
St. Omer
Liege
Gembloux
Lille
Namur
Orchies
Mons
ARTOIS
Valenciennes
R. Sambre
NAMUR
Arras
Douai
HAINAULT
Cambray
Cateau Cambresis
PICARDY
LUXEMBURG
Luxemburg
R. Oise
R. Aisne
CHAMPANGE
R. Marne
Paris
R. Meuse
BISHOPRIC OF VERDUN
BISHOPRIC OF METZ
LORRAINE
DUCHY OF JULICH
ARCHBISHOPRIC OF COLOGNE
ARCHBISHOPRIC OF TREVES
R. Yssel
OVERYSSEL
R. Lys

400. *One of the* **causes of the revolution** *was the character of Philip II.* — He was personally without reproach in most important respects, devoted to the Catholic Church, frugal in his habits, fully conscious of his duties as ruler, and capable of an enormous amount of work. But his greatest weakness was distrust of others, which often induced him to thwart the efforts of his most faithful servants. He moreover lacked resoluteness; important measures were frequently postponed for years. Though not at all of a proud mind, he showed coldness and reserve in dealing with his subjects. During his short stay in the Netherlands the natives could not but notice the great difference between him and Charles V, who had been born and bred among them, spoke their language, participated in their popular sports, and mingled with ease among all classes. In complete opposition to his father, Philip appointed Spanish nobles exclusively to posts in his wider empire and even to the highest offices in the Netherlands, as far as the choice rested with him. This, a very impolitic practice, lost him the affection of a powerful class, the nobles of the Netherlands. But before the revolution broke out, the government was carried on in strictest accordance with the privileges of the cities, nobles, and provinces.

401. *The principal reason of the disturbances* which were to distract the fair country *was the ambitious and treacherous course of William of Orange,* called *William the Silent.*

Born a Lutheran, William was a Catholic at the court of Charles V, his greatest benefactor; acted as a Lutheran when dealing with Lutheran princes; and finally fought, or rather pretended to fight, for the victory of Calvinism. He deeply offended Philip II by marrying the daughter of Maurice, the Elector of Saxony, the man who had in so dastardly a manner betrayed Charles V (§ 401). On this occasion he pledged himself to Philip that his wife would live as a Catholic, and to Maurice, that he himself would live as a Lutheran.

Philip II provoked William's undying hatred by making him governor of Holland, and of two more of the richest provinces,

instead of giving him the coveted post of Regent General. It was William who directed the first revolutionary move, and though at times absent from the country, remained, through his extraordinary capacity for intriguing, the soul of the revolting minority. Under his guidance this party grew from year to year. Several attempts at composing the difficulties would have succeeded but for his secret machinations. His aim was full sovereignty over the entire Spanish Netherlands or at least a considerable part of them.

402. The Revolution. — On account of the increased spread of heresies, some of which were of a very pernicious character,[1] Philip II caused the Regent General to renew the religious decrees and urge their strict enforcement. By a public demonstration the dissatisfied party, a small minority of nobles, demanded their withdrawal, and the Regent General thought it best to suspend them for a time. At once Calvinistic preachers crossed the French border in large numbers, followed by Huguenot fugitives. Assisted by the mob of the cities they began a terrible devastation of churches and convents, and a destruction of statues and paintings and other works of Flemish art. Philip II now committed the blunder of sending Duke Alva, a stern soldier, as his representative to the Netherlands (1567). Alva inaugurated a reign of terror. There were numerous executions. Thousands of useful citizens fled the country (§ 388). The Spanish soldiers, who were irregularly paid, committed outrages on friend and foe alike. But all this was child's play in comparison with the cruel persecution of Catholics with which the Calvinists retaliated, wherever they had the power. When Alva was recalled, the breach was by no means irreparable. On this as on later occasions the intrigues of William the Silent frustrated the reconciliation.

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[1] For a description of one of them, Anabaptism, see Guggenberger, II, § 356.

In the further course of the struggle, Philip more than once left his Regents without the necessary support or recalled them when they were on the point of victory or pacification. At times all the provinces united against the Spanish power. As yet, however, no province aimed or pretended to aim at independence from Spain. But the northern provinces, foremost those under the governorship of William of Orange, more and more became the chief seat of the rebellion. There, too, Calvinism was propagated with all means of violence. Both sides performed deeds of heroic valor. Queen Elizabeth of England, the King of France, and other potentates, repeatedly found it in their interest to support the rebels.

In 1578 Holland and the other northern provinces concluded the *Union of Utrecht,* which made Calvinism their official religion and expelled or executed the Catholics. These provinces soon abjured their allegiance to the King of Spain, and established themselves as *The United Netherlands.* William the Silent, however, had fallen the victim of a fanatical assassin, just when he thought he had reached his goal, the position of an independent sovereign. His son Maurice became his successor with the limited power of "Stadholder" (president) of the republic.

This is the beginning of the Dutch republic, also styled *Holland* from the most influential member of the little confederation. For a long time, the position of Stadholder passed from father to son in the family of William of Orange. In 1815 his descendants became hereditary kings of the Netherlands.

During the war the little republic had enriched itself by plundering the Spanish fleets and colonies, and it soon built up a large colonial empire in the Indies.[1] Its extensive trade for a while outstripped both English and Spanish commerce. It is greatly to its honor that even in the midst of its struggle

[1] In 1582 Philip II had taken possession of Portugal and all its colonies, basing his claim upon close relationship with the kings whose line had died out. It was chiefly the former Portuguese colonies that the Dutch seized upon. In 1640 an almost bloodless revolution again separated the two countries and placed a native Portuguese family upon the throne.

for political liberty it created, in the university of Leyden, a center of intellectual life. Here existed an intense scientific and literary activity, which, however, was marred by bitter religious feuds between two rival wings of Calvinism. For some time the Dutch were the best agriculturists and florists of Europe.

The southern provinces remained faithful to Spain. In the course of time they became more generally known as *Belgium.* After many vicissitudes Belgium, since 1830, has formed an independent kingdom.

B. Other Spanish Affairs

403. The Battle of Lepanto. — After the expedition of Charles V to Tunis (§ 365) the Turks had resumed their depredations upon the coasts of the Mediterranean. They burned villages far inland, and swept away thousands of Christians into slavery. While the Protestants of Germany, England, and other countries cursed the head of the Catholic Church as Anti-Christ, *Pope St. Pius V* brought about an alliance between himself, Spain, and the Republic of Venice against the common foes of Christendom. With a large fleet John of Austria, half-brother of Philip II, sailed out, and, Oct. 7, 1571, almost annihilated the Turkish fleet at Lepanto. Twelve thousand Christian rowers were freed from horrible slavery at the oar.

The battle of Lepanto was the greatest naval battle the world had seen for fifteen hundred years. In importance it can be compared only with Salamis, Chalons, Constantinople, and Tours. It destroyed forever Turkish supremacy on the Mediterranean.[1]

404. The Spanish Armada. — The support given by Elizabeth to the revolting provinces in the Netherlands, depredations

[1] See the brilliant description of this battle in E. K. Rawson, *Twenty Famous Naval Battles* or in Drane's *Knights of St. John.*

upon Spanish shipping and Spanish colonies, and the execution of Mary Stuart finally moved Philip II, after much hesitation, to decide on a war with England. But *Francis Drake*, the ablest of the band of Elizabeth's licensed freebooters, ruined the first preparations by daringly sailing into the harbor of Cadiz and burning a large number of unprotected warships and vast stores of provisions. In 1588, however, Philip had fitted out an immense fleet, the "Invincible Armada," for an invasion of England. To the surprise of the world this gigantic effort came to naught — partly through terrible storms; partly because the Spanish army in the Netherlands failed to coöperate with it; partly and chiefly through the desperate attacks of the English craft which though much smaller in size were better manned and more dextrously handled. The scattered Spaniards — the encounters had taken place in the Channel — returned around Scotland and Ireland, strewing the coasts of these countries with the wrecks of their ships.

With the defeat of the Armada begins the decline of the Spanish naval power. The way was prepared for the English colonization of America.

405. The Expulsion of the Moriscos — Spain's Colonial Policy. — The numerous Moriscos, — descendants of the Moors, — living chiefly into the South of the peninsula, had remained Mohammedans at heart though they professed Christianity outwardly. Their close connection with Mohammedan powers made them, besides, a political danger. So Philip II finally resolved to force them to give up their national peculiarities, their dress, customs, and above all their language. This demand drove them into a revolution, in which they had reason to count upon the support of the sultan and that of France. In a fearful war they were overpowered and removed to other localities. Under Philip III they were finally expelled from Spain entirely. The economic consequences for the country were disastrous. It was impossible to replace this

industrious though small part of the population which had brought agriculture and manufacture to a high degree of perfection. Even to-day the districts abandoned by them have not recovered their ancient flourishing state.

An ill-advised *colonial policy*, however, had a great deal to do with this deplorable result. Like all the countries of that time which possessed colonies, Spain aimed at extorting as much as possible from her rich provinces in America, and cut them off entirely from the rest of the world. Whatever the colonists desired they had to buy from the mother country. Hence all products of Spain, however inferior in quality, were sure to find a purchaser in the colonies. There was, therefore, no incentive to improve the methods of production. On the other hand, enterprising Spaniards were seized by the emigration fever and preferred, as they thought, "getting rich quick" in the colonies to extending the productive area in their native land. In general the rich colonies and the silver fleets which they sent year after year to fill the king's exchequer much more harmed than benefited the land. Mismanagement and the strictly autocratic government which resisted every check did the rest to keep Spain upon the downward path. In European politics this country never again played the part as under Philip II.

This decline was not caused by the Catholic religion but by the erroneous theories, to which all the states of those times were more or less addicted. If the result of these theories was more disastrous for Spain than it was for other nations, England, for instance, we should remember that the colonies of Spain were so much larger and also richer in useful and desirable products, and that in consequence their influence upon the mother country was bound to be more general and thoroughgoing. At the same time, however, *Spain never forgot that she was Catholic.* The Christianization of the natives in her colonies was never lost sight of in her legislation. Her colonial laws,

it is true, were frequently disobeyed by the higher and lower officials in the far-distant countries, and the natives were occasionally treated with cruelty. Yet, notwithstanding all this, there is now, to mention one striking example, a Catholic population of seven million native Filipinos as a result of her colonial policy. And even in the vast extent of the countries of South America with its tens of millions of natives, the number of pagan Indians is small in proportion with those Christianized.[1]

C. Religious Wars in France

406. The Huguenot Wars in France. — In France the Protestants, chiefly Calvinists, were called *Huguenots*, a word of uncertain origin and meaning. At no time was their number larger than a small minority of the population; they were, however, proportionately very numerous among the higher and highest nobility, including members of the royal family. These saw in the new faith an opportunity for enriching themselves and a pretext for embarrassing the actual rulers. Thus began a series of eight bloody wars (1562–1598) in which fair France was frightfully devastated. For many of the participants these wars were truly religious wars, while most of the leaders generally were actuated by political motives.

One of the most talked of incidents in history, the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Night, took place after the third of these wars. The king's mother, the unscrupulous Catherine of Medici, who had been siding alternately with the Catholics and the Huguenots, noticed with dismay that Admiral Coligny, the chief leader of the latter, was rapidly dislodging her in the favor of her son, King Charles IX. She hired an assassin to kill the admiral. On the occasion of a solemn princely wedding, celebrated at Paris, he was fired upon (Aug. 22) but was merely

[1] On the Spanish colonial policy see Guggenberger, II, §§ 405–424. Do not fail to read § 423, which briefly treats of the *Indian Reductions*, a kind of Indian Reservations, in which in the course of about a century and a half more than a million Indians were Christianized and civilized. Or see the article "Reductions of Paraguay" in *Catholic Encyclopedia.*

wounded in the wrist. This roused the fury of the Huguenot chieftains to the highest pitch. They threatened that "Coligny's arm was to cost 40,000 other arms." Terrified to the utmost the queen mother convinced the king that neither his nor her life was safe, and that only a sudden blow could avert the gravest danger from the royal family. Very reluctantly the king consented to a general massacre of the leading Huguenots. Thus, on the 24th of August, more than a thousand Huguenots fell in Paris, and later on a large number in the provinces. No religious motives had suggested this hastily planned and precipitately carried out butchery. — For more details and a fuller explanation consult Guggenberger, II, §§ 323–329.

407. Henry IV. — The eighth war was practically a contest for the succession to the French crown. Henry of Bourbon had the best claim.[1] But he was a Huguenot, and he saw that for this reason he could never hope to gain the adherence of Catholic France. His religious convictions were not very deep, though he cannot be said to have been a hypocrite. Once before he had already, under pressure, professed himself a Catholic. He now took pains to have himself instructed, and, in 1593, was received back into the Catholic Church. Soon he was generally recognized as *Henry IV. With him the House of Bourbon* ascended the throne of France, to which all the French kings have belonged until the end of royalty in the middle of the nineteenth century.

In 1598 Henry IV issued the *Edict of Nantes,* by which he granted to his former coreligionists liberty of conscience, a limited right of public worship, and many political privileges. Though in his private life he was no credit to the Church, the French nation has reason to look upon him as one of its great kings. During the protracted civil wars many of the great

[1] The *House of Valois* (§ 281, note) had furnished the rulers of France until the accession of Henry IV. The House of Bourbon was another side line of the Capetians, descending from Robert, a son of St. Louis IX. Henry Bourbon was already king of the little realms of Navarre and Béarn, which under him became parts of France. On the Huguenot Wars see Guggenberger, II, §§ 308–340.

HENRY IV CONFIDING THE GOVERNMENT TO THE QUEEN. — From the painting by Rubens in the Louvre. Between the royal pair is seen the future king, Louis XIII.

feudatories had regained much of their medieval ascendency to the detriment of the central power. France was on the point of breaking up into small states, like Germany. This danger was averted by Henry IV's accession. The serious endeavors of Philip II, too, to unite France with Spain were thus frustrated. With the assistance of his sagacious minister, the *Duke of Sully*, Henry IV set himself to restore prosperity to the desolated country. Roads were built; new trades were fostered. As far as he could help it, he used to say, the poorest peasant should have a fowl in the pot every Sunday.

His great plans of conquest, however, were not destined to be realized. He had concluded an alliance with England and with the Protestants of Holland and Germany for a war against the Hapsburg emperor. When just setting out to join his army, he was assassinated by a half-witted Catholic fanatic.

408. Richelieu. — Henry IV's son, Louis XIII, came to the throne as a boy of nine years. Anarchy again raised its head; but France was saved by the commanding genius of *Cardinal Richelieu*, who became the chief minister of the young king. Richelieu's statesmanship was guided solely by political motives. Within the kingdom he crushed the great nobles and essentially promoted the absolutism of the crown. In the Thirty Years' War he aided the German Protestants against the Catholic emperor, and so secured a chance to seize German territory (§§ 410, 412), while in France he curtailed by force of arms the privileges of the Huguenots, because they obstructed his plans of centralization.

D. The Thirty Years' War, 1618–1648

409. The Period before the War. — The Religious Peace at Augsburg (§ 366) did not settle the differences between the Catholics and Protestants of Germany. The successors of Charles V in the empire were unable to prevent the Protestant princes from encroaching upon the possessions of the Catholics. The territories of two archbishops and fifteen bishops and those of hundreds of abbeys and similar institutions fell into their hands.

Meanwhile the Council of Trent came to a close (§ 398). But it was with difficulty that the Hapsburg emperors kept Protestantism from overrunning their own hereditary dominions. The number of defections from the Catholic religion in the Austrian dominions, above all in Bohemia, increased from year to year.

In 1608 a number of Protestant princes, chiefly Calvinists, concluded the aggressive "Evangelical Union" with Frederick, the Count Palatine, as their head and King Henry IV of France as protector. The following year most of the Catholics opposed to it the "Catholic League" under Maximilian of Bavaria. The Catholic League of course sided with the emperor. Between these two alliances the war broke out, though in the course of the thirty years they gradually disappeared from the scene. The emperors, Ferdinand II (1619–1637) and Ferdinand III (1637–1657), were able men, and though sincerely Catholic meant to respect the privileges which the Protestants had wrested from Charles V. Had there been no foreign interference, the war would most probably have ended in a complete victory of the Catholic party, and Protestantism would have practically been reduced to the extent it had in 1555.

410. The War Began in Bohemia. — Its first period, the *Bohemian War*, may be said in some sense to have been exclusively German, though the Protestant party was liberally subsidized by France, England, and Holland. The other periods show by their very names which powers openly entered the field against the Catholic emperor. They are known as the *Danish*, *Swedish*, and *Franco-Swedish Wars*.

The pious and honest *Tilly*, "conqueror in twenty-two battles," and the resourceful, ingenious, but ambitious *Wallenstein*, who turned traitor to his sovereign, were the most prominent generals on the emperor's side. But unquestionably the greatest military genius of the time was *Gustavus Adolphus*, King of Sweden. Within two years he had nearly all Germany at his feet. He fell in battle when at the height of his power.

It should be noted that the armies which fought this war consisted largely of mercenaries, who did not necessarily belong to the nation they represented. He who paid best and permitted the most unlimited plunderings had the largest number of soldiers. The struggle more and more degenerated into a ruthless destruction of life and property. The principle that " war must support itself " was openly recognized and acted upon by several of the most successful leaders.

411. The calamities the war brought upon Germany were monstrous. — Season by season, for a generation of human life, armies of ruthless freebooters harried the land with fire and sword. The peasant found that he toiled only to feed robbers and to draw them to outrage and torture his family; so he ceased to labor, and became himself robber or camp-follower. *Half the population and two thirds the movable property of Germany* were swept away. In many large districts, the facts were worse than this average. The Duchy of Wurtemberg had fifty thousand people left out of five hundred thousand. Populous cities shriveled into hamlets; and for miles upon miles, former hamlets were the lairs of wolf packs.

Even more destructive was the result upon industry and character. Whole trades, with their long-inherited skill, passed from the memory of men.[1] Land tilled for centuries became wilderness. Large parts of the population that survived the war came to manhood without schools or churches or law or orderly industry.

412. The Peace of Westphalia, 1648, which ended the war, was concluded after five years' deliberation at Münster, the principal city of Westphalia. Almost all the states of Europe were represented.

(1) It reaffirmed, with some restrictions, the *Religious Peace* of Augsburg, and constituted a Germany which was almost equally divided between Catholics and Protestants. On the

[1] An instance of this is the wonderful old German wood carving. A genuine old piece of German cabinetwork is easily placed before 1618, because the war simply wiped out the skill and the industry.

THE TERRITORIAL CHANGES EFFECTED BY THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150 200
DENMARK
SWEDEN
Copenhagen
BORNHOLM
BALTIC SEA
Memel R.
Gulf of Danzig
Königsberg
RÜGEN I.
Stralsund
Danzig
PRUSSIA
HELGOLAND
WESTERN POMERANIA
EASTERN POMERANIA
Glückstadt
ATZE-BERG
Rostok
Wismar
Hamburg
BREMEN
Neubrandenburg
Müritz L.
R. Elbe
Bremen
Wittstock
Netze R.
R. Vistula
R. Bug
Amsterdam
Zuyder Zee
UNITED PROVINCES
R. Ems
R. Weser
Werben
BRANDENBURG
R. Warthe
BERLIN
Brandenburg
Havel R.
R. Spree
Frankfort
Oder R.
Warsaw
MINDEN
OSNABRÜCK
RAVENS-BERG
MAGDEBURG
R. Aller
Lütter
HALBERSTADT
Dessau
POLAND
R. Bartsch
R. Pilica
CLEVE
MARK
LUSATIA
R. Meuse
Cologne
Breitenfeld
Erfurt
Lützen
Silesia
Llege
Aix-la-Chapelle
Namur
SPANISH NETHERLANDS
Coblenz
Eisenach
R. Werra
SAXONY
DRESDEN
R. Oder
Rhine R.
Frankfort
Roroi
Treves
Mainz
R. Mosel
R. Main
Eger
Prague
R. Elbe
Würzburg
Bamberg
UPPER PALATINATE
Bohemia
Heidelberg
Jankow
Verdun
Nüremburg
Metz
FRANCE
Philipsburg
Ratisbon
AUSTRIAN DOMINIONS
Toul
Nördlingen
Budweis
R. Moldau
Strasburg
ALSACE
Ingolstadt
Danube R.
R. Isar
Passau
Ulm
Augsburg
R. Lech
BAVARIA
Danube R.
VIENNA
Breisach
MUNICH
Inn R.
FRANCHE COMTE
Basel
R. Rhine
Lake Constance
SWITZERLAND
March of Gustavus Adolphus
Eastern France before the War
French Gains
Brandenburg-Prussia
Brandenburg-Prussia Gains in 1624-1648
Switzerland, Independence acknowledged, 1648
Swedish Gains
United Provinces. Independence acknowledged, 1648.

whole, Catholicity was better off now than it had been before the war.

(2) *The United Netherlands and Switzerland* were recognized as independent states. *France* had her acquisition of Metz, Toul, and Verdun (§ 366) sanctioned, and, besides, acquired the greater part of Alsace. *Sweden*, whose power already extended around the entire northern and most of the eastern Baltic Sea, obtained possessions in northern Germany which controlled the mouths of the Oder, Elbe, and Weser rivers, — the mouths of the Rhine were in the power of Holland.

(3) *Within the empire* there were many territorial adjustments, mostly in favor of Protestant princes. In the districts thus acquired, however, the religious status was not to be altered. The empire itself, although retaining the *forms* of an elective monarchy, was changed into a mere *confederacy under the presidency of the emperor*. There were some three hundred states. The diet, described in § 313, soon came to remain in session perpetually. Questions of war and peace, of armaments and fortifications, were henceforward to be decided by this clumsy assembly.

It is indeed remarkable that even in this distracted condition Germany was still a factor to be counted with, that she exerted some power in resisting the attacks of Louis XIV, and that, under Austrian leadership, she succeeded, sixty years later, in winning back Hungary and Transylvania from Turkish subjugation. Of the former imperial power over Italy, however, there was not even a trace left, with the exception of certain districts which, at times, belonged directly to Austria.

Exercises. (1) Dates: 1517, 1534 (Calvin, Apostasy of Henry VIII), 1545–1563, 1558–1603 (Elizabeth), 1588, 1648.

(2) List of terms for brief explanation: Nepotism, Tetzel, Geneva, Armada, Pilgrimage of Grace, etc.

(3) Describe the extent of each of the greater European powers at the end of the Religious Wars.

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